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THE SAYINGS OF HERMES QUOTED IN THE *MĀ' AL-WARAQĪ*
OF IBN UMAIL.

By H. E. STAPLETON, G. L. LEWIS and F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR.

1. *Hermetic Literature in Islām.*

THE name 'Hermetic' is given to texts dealing mainly with four subjects:—Alchemy, Astrology, Magic and Theodicy, throughout which runs a connecting thread of belief in the power of the stars over men's lives. Al-Nadīm, in the alchemical section of his *Fihrist* (988 A.D.), places Hermes first in a list of 'Sages who have spoken of the Art'. After the list come these words:—'These are they who are referred to as having done the principle operation, that of the Complete Elixir. All those who have come after and have devoted themselves to this science have seen their endeavours vain and have had to confine themselves to the exterior operations.'

For many Muslims Hermes was a real prophet, identified with the Idris of the Qur'ān¹, though he differed from other prophets in not bringing a written revelation, but coming to inspire men directly to organise the first settled cities. It was through Hermes-Idris and not through Aristotle that the Hellenistic tradition first came to take root in Muslim minds.

The influence of the star-worshipping Sabæans of Harrān, to whom Hermes-Thoth was the god of all civilising inventions, was widespread in the Islamic

¹ Mas'ūdī (*Murūj* I. 73) speaks of *Uknukh* (Enoch) "he being Idris the Prophet. The Sabæans assert that he is Hermes; and the meaning of Hermes is '*Uṭārid* (Mercury)''.

world. From Harrān, where the ancient pagan worship flourished for fully two centuries after the Hijra, came talismans, alembics and the astrolabes necessary for fixing the times of the five daily prayers (since Muslim orthodoxy frowns even now on the use of ready-made almanacs). Many Muslim thinkers, however, looked askance at the belief in Magic, Astrology and Alchemy, as impugning the omnipotence of Allah. The fact that their disapproval often extended to the fourth of the activities grouped under the name of Hermes, Theodicy, is an indication that there was a consciousness of the doctrinal unity of all four. The Hermetic thesis that the Divine Essence can by prayer be brought into idol or saint, and the doctrine of the ascent of the Spirit into the sky, which is opposed to the Muslim belief in the descent of an angel bearing the revelation to a prophet, prevented Hermetism from obtaining a hold on orthodox Islam. In magic too the Hermetic Talismans lost ground before Number- and Sand-divination, but in Alchemy and Astrology the Hermetic influence persists to the present day, notably in North Africa.

The great bulk of Arabic Hermetic writings does not depend on Greek or Coptic originals, but came into existence from the tenth and eleventh centuries, when alchemy had increased in popularity and began to produce a genuine Arabic literature. Numerous books may have been ascribed to Hermes by authors content to sacrifice the chance of personal fame for the sake of winning immortality for their works, just as books on a vast variety of topics have throughout the centuries been fathered on Aristotle. Similarly, on railway-bookstalls in this country it is still possible to see a plurality of Sibylline Books, each claiming to speak with the voice of the veritable Old Moore.

None the less it is possible to show that some, at least, of the sayings of Hermes that are quoted in Arabic texts are derived from a Greek original and in the last section of this paper evidence is adduced that the sayings of Hermes quoted by Ibn Umail in the *Mā' al-Waraqī* are of this character.

2. Ibn Umail and the *Mā' al-Waraqī*.

Al-Mā' al-Waraqī wa'l-Arḍ al-Najmīya ('The Silvery Water and the Starry Earth') is an example of a large class of alchemical compilations probably put together around the tenth century A.D., but based on fragments of the great mass of syncretistic writings that had been in circulation in the Near and Middle East since, at least, the third century.

It is a Commentary in prose by Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Umail al-Tamīmī on his own *Qaṣīda* (Ode), in *Mukhammasa* verse rhyming in *Lām*, entitled *Risālat al-Shams ila'l-Hilāl* ('Epistle of the Sun to the Crescent Moon'). The text, edited by M. Turāb 'Alī, appears in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XII, No. 1. It is to this edition that the page-numbers given at the head of each of the following extracts refer. Accompanying it is an *Excursus* by H. E. Stapleton and M. Hidāyat Ḥusain on the writings and date of Ibn Umail. The conclusion is there reached that his life covered the

period 900 to 960 A.D. Very little is known about him, probably because, as he himself states, he lived in complete seclusion. Professor Massignon, in his valuable Appendix (' Inventaire de la Littérature Hermétique Arabe ') to *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* by Le R. P. Festugière, O.P. (Paris 1944), to which we are indebted for most of the material in the preceding note on Arab Hermetism, gives Ibn Umail's date as ' towards 990 A.D. ', and lists him among ' les hermétistes secondaires ' ; but apparently neither of these writers had seen the Indian Memoir.

The quotations attributed to Hermes of which translations are here presented were extracted from *al-Mā' al-Waraqī* by H. E. Stapleton and M. Turāb 'Alī. It is hoped in a subsequent number of AMBIX to give translations of the quotations from Hermes that occur in the *Shawāhid* of al-Rāzī, as well those found in the *Rutbat-al-Hakīm* of Maslama al-Majrīṭī.

3. The Sayings of HERMES, as quoted in Ibn Umail's *Mā' al-Waraqī*.

I. P. 9, l. 10. (*Qaṣīdat al-Shams ila'l-Hilāl*).

" The Strength of the Lowest and the Highest—as HURMUS, the Crown of the Sages, has said to us—has passed into that Water, and consequently it will not leave that which has been dissolved in it in darkness, the water reviving the dust like the rain-bearing cloud."

II. P. 15, l. 3. (*al-Mā' al-Waraqī*.)

" MĀRIYA also said : The ' Water ' which I have mentioned is an Angel, and descends from the sky, and the earth accepts it on account of its (the earth's) moistness. The water of the sky is held by the water of the earth, and the water of the earth acts as its servant, and its Sand (serves) for the purpose of honouring it. Both the waters are gathered together and the ' Water ' holds the ' Water '. The *Kiyān* (Vital Principle) holds the *Kiyān* and the *Kiyān* is whitened by the *Kiyān*². She meant (by this) the coction of the ' Soul ' with the ' Spirit ' until both mix and are thoroughly cooked together and become a single thing like Marble."

l. 8. (As for her statement regarding the Angel) " She meant by this the ' Divine Water ', which is the ' Soul '. She named it ' Angel ' because it is spiritual, and because that ' Water ' has risen from the earth to the sky of the *Birbā* " (i.e., from the bottom to the top of the Alembic.)

" And as for her statement ' (The Water) descends from the sky ' she meant by this its return to their Earth ; and this Angel which she mentioned I shall explain to you in another way so that you may be aware of both explanations—if Allah will ! She meant by this the child which they said will be born for them

² For a fuller explanation of *Kiyān* and of the ideas of the 10th Cent. alchemists in the Middle East on ' Body ', ' Soul ' and ' Spirit ', vide Stapleton and Hidāyat Husain (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XII, pp. 134–141). The Memoirs of the Asiatic of Society of Bengal will in succeeding notes be referred to as *M.A.S.B.*

in the Air while Conception had taken place in the Lower (region); this being (through) the Higher Celestial Strength which the water has gained by its absorption of the Air. Regarding this, HURMUS said: 'The strength of the Highest and the Lowest will be found in it'."

III. P. 17, l. 14.

"They name this Water also, 'the Rain which revives the Lower World'; and (by) all this (is to be understood) the Pure Silvery Water which is the Gold of the Sages. The Excellent Master, HURMUS, named it 'the Good of many names'."

IV. P. 20, l. 14.

"In this Water will be found the strength of the Highest and the Lowest. As HURMUS, the Excellent Sage who is the Ocean of Wisdom, said: 'Give it predominance over the Highest and the Lowest. It will then perform wonders—the thing and its opposite—because it will both blacken and whiten. It will also redden. It will harden the Moist and soften the Dry. Its brother is the Ash which has been extracted from the Ash with their 'Second White Body', which they named 'The Sanctified Thirsty Earth'; and the Ash, which is the 'Ferment', they named the 'Ferment of Gold'. The Gold is their 'Divine Water'; and the 'Divine Water' is the 'Ferment' of the 'Bodies'; and the 'Bodies' are their 'Earth'. The 'Ferment' of the 'Divine Water', which is the 'Ferment' of the 'Bodies', is the Ash, and it is the 'Ferment of Ferments'. MĀRIYA the Sage, in several places in her books, named it 'The Rennet', because it coagulates their 'Water' in their 'Second Earth', which is their 'Second Body'. It is the 'Crown of Victory'; and they called it Gold on account of its excessive whiteness, in connection with the expression "their Water in their Second Earth, and their Silvery Water" (?). They meant by their words 'Mix Gold with Gold', the admixture of Water and Ash, and their 'Water' and the Second Whitening Body. HURMUS said: 'O my son, cultivate Gold in a White Silvery Earth.'³ HURMUS here called their 'White Water' Gold, because the Tincturing Soul is concealed in their Water when the Spirit becomes predominant over it by reason of its Colour and Whiteness. He called their 'Whitening Body', 'White Silvery Earth.'"

³ In the latter half of the 10th Cent. A.D., Al-Nadīm—the author of the *Fihrist*, the greatest bibliographical compilation in Arabic—mentioned two alchemical treatises that Hermes was then supposed to have written for his sons. The 'Book to Tāt on the Work' still exists in various libraries: but the phrase (quoted here and also in more detail in Section XXVI *infra*) could not be found in the course of a cursory search through the MS. Arabic copy in the Āsafiyah Library, Hyderabad. This may, however, be due to the MS. being only an excerpt from the more complete work as in it the author mentions two other books which were apparently earlier sections of the same treatise.

For other alchemical treatises by Hermes reference may be made to Stapleton and Azo (*M.A.S.B.* III, 70, note 1) as well as Section XV, *infra*. The quotation from ARMIYĀNŪS given at the end of Section XIV may be from yet another treatise ascribed to Hermes by Al-Nadīm, viz: the 'Book of ARMINŪS, disciple of Hermes',

V. P. 25, l. 15.

“ They call the ‘ Soul ’ that is extracted from it (the first compound), after the ‘ Stone ’ is made perfect on account of its admixture, Gold : it, the Soul, being in reality the Gold of the Sages. Regarding it HURMUS said : ‘ Cultivate Gold in a White Silvery Earth ’. The ‘ White Silvery Earth ’ is the ‘ Crown of Victory ’, this being the ‘ Ash which is extracted from the Ash ’ and their ‘ Second Body ’. They also call it ‘ Their Body ’ in which they cultivate ‘ Their Gold ’, viz., this Gold, when it is whitened after being black as I have explained to you in the following *Qaṣīda* ” (rhyming in *Mīm*).

VI. P. 27, l. 7.

“ (The Humid Spirit) which they termed ‘ The Sage ’ and ‘ HURMUS ’.”

For other explanatory references to the names HURMUS, ‘ The Sage ’ etc., given to various alchemical ingredients, cf. the following later passages in the *Mā' al-Waraqī* :—

P. 82, l. 1. “ The ‘ Spirit ’, which operates on their (the Sages) ‘ Stone ’, viz. their ‘ Bodies ’, is HURMUS, and this is one of its names. It is AL-ḤAKĪM (the Sage), and ṢĀḤIB AL-TADBĪR (the Master of Manipulation) ”.

P. 89, l. 23. “ This ‘ Spirit ’ is Mercury, and it is HURMUS, and it is named AL-ḤAKĪM—the Sage ”.

P. 59, l. 11. “ And this (hot Fiery Calx) I (Ibn Umail) named ‘ HURMUS, the Father of Tinctures ’.”

P. 60, l. 17. “ And this ‘ Second Body ’ which is concealed with the Calx they called ‘ HURMUS, the Controller of Tinctures with its Ferment ’ ”.

P. 72, l. 1-7. “ ARAS⁴ named the Ash ‘ HURMUS, the Controller of Tinctures ’ because it coagulates the Waters which are the Tinctures in the Second Body.” And but for it (the Ash) the Water would not have coagulated in that Body of theirs, because it is the Rennet of their Water, and their Body is dust and earth. Consequently MĀRIYA said : ‘ The Water is not coagulated, save by Rennet, this being the Ash ’. (Returning to the consideration of the ‘ Moist Spirit ’) The King said : ‘ How is the Tincturing Spirit extracted ’ ? ARAS replied : ‘ The Moist Spirit that had combined with it extracted it ’. QAIṢAR said : ‘ What is this Water that has been extracted from the composition ? ARAS replied : ‘ It is that which DHŪMUQRĀT (*i. e.* DEMOKRITOS) called the ‘ Ferment of Gold ’ : and often they called it ‘ Sour Ferment ’. QAIṢAR said ‘ Can that Tincture be seen ? ’ ARAS replied : ‘ How can it be seen, seeing that it is hidden in the Moist White Spirit ? ’ ”.

⁴ An alchemist of unknown date whose long discussions with a Byzantine Emperor (or QAIṢAR), called T(IY)ŪDARAS (*i. e.* THEODORUS), seem to have been regarded by Ibn Umail as carrying almost equal alchemical authority with the sayings of Hermes.

VII. P. 35 l. 1.

“ HURMUS said : ‘ The Secret of ‘ Everything ’ and the Life of ‘ Everything ’ is ‘ Water ’. The ‘ Water ’ is susceptible of treatment from men and others. In the ‘ Water ’ is a great secret. This Water becomes in Wheat, Ferment ; in the Vine, Wine ; in the Olive, Olive Oil ; in the Turpentine Tree, Resin ; and in the Sesame, Oil. The beginning of the child is from Water. Almighty Allah has said (*Qur’ān*, *Sūra* XXI, 31) ‘ We made everything living from Water ’ ”.

For an amplification of this paragraph, *vide* Section XII. *infra*.

VIII. PP. 35, l. 10 to 36, l. 2.

“ MARQŪNAS said to SANQAJĀ⁵: ‘ O SANQAJĀ, similar is the habit (*‘āda*) of that Water. Consequently, the Men of the Egyptian Temples (*i. e.*, the alchemists) gave it superiority over all things, and made it the Head of the World. The World is *Maghmīsiyā*. HURMUS called it by that name, for he said : ‘ It is the Microcosm ; and it is alive, not dying until the Day of Resurrection, as long as the world will last. It revives all dead : and it manifests the hidden and concealed colours and takes away the external colours ’. SANQAJĀ said : ‘ How does this take place, O King ? ’ MARQŪNAS replied ‘ In it is a wonder. When you pour it on those three, the mixed things, and leave it (for some time), the White will help the Yellow and the Red, and (in turn) it will whiten them, and will convert them to the whiteness of pure Silver. Then the Yellow will help the White and the Red, and convert them into Yellow, and make them of the colour of Gold. The Red will help the White and the Yellow, and will redden them, and convert them into the Redness of the Serpent (*aqzal*)⁶ of the Sea. When you see them in this state, pour away that Water because, if it remains in them, it will blacken them, after the reddening. If you do this with it (*i. e.*, allow it to remain), then verily you will have committed a mistake in the operation (*tadbīr*) and spoilt everything which you have (otherwise) prepared correctly. And you will die from the pain of error, and poverty, and grief of (losing) wealth. I have given the explanation of this to you in my book *Miftāḥ al-Hikmat al-‘Uzmā* (Key of the Greater Wisdom) by mentioning the Water which comes out of the Woman before giving birth to a child. This

⁵ Or MARQŪSH and SAFANJĀ. From a quotation by Berthelot and Houdas (*La Chimie au moyen âge*, III, p. 124) from Paris Arabic MS. No. 1074, it will be seen that the discussion was alleged to have taken place between MARQŪSH, King of Egypt, son of THABAT, King of Abyssinia, and SAFANJĀ, King of Sa‘īd.

⁶ *Lisān al-‘Arab* explains *aqzal* as ‘ a kind of serpent ’. The suggestion at p. 175, note 7 of *M.A.S.B.*, Vol. XII, No. 1 that the word is to be related to the Turkish *qizil* meaning ‘ red ’ seems unacceptable, although the CHERMERINA of the Latin version of the *Mā’ al-Waraqī* looks remarkably like the Med. Lat. *Kermesinus*, of Arabic derivation, whence ultimately Eng. ‘ Crimson ’. The connection of red colour with the Serpent appears in the text translated by Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* I.v. p. 21 :— “ . . . and from (the Serpent) comes the red of Cinnabar, as they say, and this is the Cinnabar of the Philosophers.”

Water women name *al-Hādī* (The Guide), as it comes out before (the birth of) the child, and it (the child) is then perfect'."

"SANQAJĀ (further) asked the King MARQŪNAS regarding the knowledge of the Stone and said: 'Does everyone know this?' MARQŪNAS replied: 'Yes, there is no one who does not know it, and everyone has advantages from it not found in anything else. But no one knows the advantage that you desire, save the Men of the Egyptian Temples. SANQAJĀ said: 'O King, is it to be found when sought for?' MARQŪNAS said: 'Yes. No commodity is sold in the world more than it, and everyone requires it, and everyone possesses it, and it is necessary for everyone to have it.' He means by his statement 'This Water', because the Water is found in every place, in the plains and in the mountains, with rich and poor, with strong and weak. This is the parable that all the Sages quote regarding their 'Stone'; it is the 'Water', the 'Humid Spirit'."

"HURMUS said: 'The Heat does not agree with the Cold nor the Moist with the Dry, save after expansion; and the Animals of the land do not agree with the Animals of the Sea because the life of the Animals of the Sea is allied to Water, and if it be shut off from them they will not live. Consequently they do not agree with the Animals of the Land, and no offspring or progeny will come of their union'. So it is incumbent on you to know that HURMUS and other Sages point out by these parables their 'Stone' which is connected with Humidity."

IX. P. 36, l. 9.

"HURMUS said 'The thing agrees with the thing nearest to it in its Nature. Then a Child, like to them in appearance, is born from them'. Know also that the Humidity is from the influence (*sultān*) of the Moon, and the Oiliness from the influence of the Sun; and consequently the Oil rises above the Water. The Element ('*Unsur*') of all Heat is Oiliness, and (similarly) the Element of all Cold is Humidity. The thing which comes into existence from the subtlety of its Element, then becomes gross and strong and hard, in proportion to the moderation of its Nature and in proportion to its strength which Allah—Glorified and honoured is He!—has granted to it. Some of it is immovable and some movable, and some is solid and some is liquid. This corresponds to the statement of the Sage ARAS to the King that the Water does not adhere save with that which has a similar Sulphurous constituent in it, and nothing will be found in it of a similar Sulphurous constituent except that from which it came into existence. It is just like the words of HURMUS: 'The thing agrees with the thing nearest to it'. He followed this with his words 'in its Nature', and did not say 'other than its Nature'; and this is manifest and clear from the words of HURMUS. The 'Stone' of the Sages is (produced) from it, and by it it is perfected."

X. P. 37, l. 4.

"HURMUS said : ' The Components (*akhlāt*) are taken at the beginning of the work (in the form of) ' Fresh Fat ', mixed equally and pounded. Then they are united in Marriage. Then one is buried in the other so that Conception takes place. Then it (the mixture) is taken out and given food, so that the 'Child' may be born. Know that this Marriage (*tazwīj*) and Conception (*ḥabl*) takes place by Putrefaction (*ta'fin*) in the lower part of the vessel (*inā*). The Birth of this 'Child' which will be born to them, will be in the Air, viz., in the head of their vessel. The head of the vessel is the top of the Dome (*qubba*) and the Dome is the *Anbiq*.' "

XI. P. 38, l. 23.

"Consequently, HURMUS named it (the 'Egg') 'Microcosm', from which and by which this thing of theirs is One. They called it 'Everything': and they called it 'Every Body' and 'Every Drug that is in the hands of men'."

XII. P. 39 (last line : the first few sentences being a repetition of No. VII : *vide* also Arabic text, p. 51, l. 5).

"HURMUS said : 'Know that the Secret of Everything and the Life of Everything is 'Water', and this 'Water' is susceptible of treatment from men and others, and in the Water is a great secret. This is the Water which becomes in Wheat, Ferment ; and in the Vine, Wine ; and in the Olive, Olive Oil, and in the Turpentine tree, Resin ; and in the Sesame, Oil, and in all the trees, different kinds of fruits. The beginning of the 'Child' is from the 'Water', because when the seed (*Zar*) of man falls into the womb of the woman, the womb is locked behind it for seven days. The seed, when it falls into the womb, becomes a Subtle Water, and it remains in the womb for seven days until it penetrates into all the limbs of the women on account of its fluidity and subtleness. Then it passes over the flesh and becomes flesh, and over the bones and becomes bones, and over the hair and nerves (or 'tendons') and it becomes like to them : and similarly with all parts of the limbs. Then it becomes hardened on the eighth day, and becomes like curds. Then, on the sixteenth day, it becomes red, and its colour becomes like the colour of flesh. Then, on the twenty-fourth day, it becomes manifest, and its limbs become distinguishable like hair. Then, on the thirty-second day, it takes shape and it becomes a human being. He says in the Book : 'Then We produced him by another creation'⁷. On the fortieth day, the Soul (or 'Breath') becomes manifest and apparent in it. Then, from the fortieth day, blood begins to flow into the Embryo through its navel, and it becomes its food. Then the Soul,

⁷ Cf. Qur'ān Sūra XXIII, v. 12 :—"We created man of a finer sort of clay ; then We placed him as a drop in a sure receptacle ; then we made the drop a clot of blood ; then We made the clot of blood a morsel ; then We made the morsel bones ; and We clothed the bones with flesh ; then We produced him by another creation."

(*I. e.* producing a perfect man, composed of Soul and Body.)

by reason of the blood, becomes visible, and interlaces with the body, and begins to grow little by little and becomes strong. Know that the Water serves the Embryo in the Womb for the first three months; then the Air serves it for the second three months; and then for the third three months Fire serves it. It (the Fire) makes it undergo coction, and perfects it. When nine months are completed for it, the blood which used to give sustenance to it (the Embryo) through the navel, ceases, and rises to the breast of the woman and becomes there like snow and is turned into food for it, after its emergence from the womb to this 'Middle World'. All these are (the descriptions of) the manipulation of their 'Stone', and in this way they manipulate it. Then understand this manipulation and these meanings'. By the womb is meant the interior of the Pot (*qar'*), and those things that are in the pot. Its mouth has been closed and shut up so that it (the product) may be collected in the mouth and will not find any exit into the air. Then it will be coagulated by itself as KHĀLID IBN YAZĪD⁸ says: 'When I saw the Water coagulating itself I became sure that the thing was right as has been described. Do not be in doubt, for your Lord is powerful. What you have spent on it and what has been lost will surely be restored to you'."

XIII. P. 40, l. 25.

"They called this 'Coagulated Water' by the name of every Male. They then married it with a Female whence it is and which is its root. Consequently they named the Female its 'Sister'; and its coagulation is as HURMUS described and mentioned according to the process:—'The Seed in the Womb'."

This appears to show that Ibn Umail quoted the account of the development of the Embryo and its relation to Alchemy from some treatise of HERMES.

XIV. P. 45, l. 15.

"Verily I have mentioned in the beginning of this my book that the Full Moon (*Badr*), which is included in these Figures and which is also the Moon (or 'Silver'—*Qamar*), is the root of everything. From it all things originate. I mean by this, 'Water', because the Moon is the Master of all Humidities and it is the Master of Water. Verily these two birds originate from it, and they are the Two Vapours of which HURMUS has made mention, and said regarding them: 'The Higher Vapour descends towards the Lower Vapour, so that one vapour is impregnated by the other. Without them, no Creatures can exist. Understand this meaning, for from them, with their Three Sisters, which have been previously mentioned, all those things were produced. The things are those named 'Sulphur', 'Sulphurs', Flowers of Green Herbs, Flower of Every Green Herb, Tinctures, Ferments. All these are after the entry of the First Three Imbibitions, which they named 'The Salting': and its permanence

⁸ Son of the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd, and said to be the first Arab to take up the study of alchemy. He was born c. 673 A.D. and may have survived till about 720, though most Arabic historians say he died 15 years or so earlier.

in the 'Stone', with which it has been married, and its solidification, will be through it (the addition of Water)—I mean the Male and the Female, after all has been whitened. Regarding these three Marriages ARMIYĀNŪS AL-HAZĀRBANDĪ said : ' Salt thrice and do not add to it a fourth (salting) ' : and regarding this DHU'L-NŪN AL-MIṢRĪ⁹ said : ' When you have completed it (the Salting) thrice, do not fear the permanency of its operations ' . "

XV. P. 47, l. 8.

" Similarly they compared their ' Silvery Water ' to the ' Water of the Snail ', and they have three reasons for this comparison of theirs. First the Snail is circular and round, like a Pearl ; and consequently HURMUS said in one of his Treatises regarding the Marriage of the Male with the Female, and the latter's (three) Sisters : ' Marry him with Four Wives '. Afterwards he said : If you do not recognise them, (know that) they are from a moist, beautifully rounded Pearl ' . "

A repetition, at the top of p. 74 of the Arabic text of the last two quotations from Hermes, supplies not only the name of the treatise from which they were taken, viz : the *Risālat al-Sirr* (' The Epistle of the Secret '), but more complete names of both Hermes and the person to whom it was addressed—mutilated though these may be. The full names run : ABŪDASHĪR (or ANŪDASHĪR—MS. R.) HURMUS IBN ARAS (or ARIBAS—MS. R.) to AMNŪT(H)ĀSIYA (or UMMIH ULĀSIYA—MS. P.).

This treatise still exists, and was even printed in India in 1279 A.H. (=1862 A.D.) accompanied by three other alchemical treatises. One of the latter was another treatise ascribed to HURMUS who is called in it AL-DANDARĪ—apparently because the original text is said to have been found in the ancient temple of Dandarah in Upper Egypt. The title of the treatise appears to have been *al-Falakīyat al-Kubarā* (' The Great — or Old — Astrologers ').

In the printed version of the *Risālat al-Sirr*, the name of the author—who is described as ' Chief of the Priests '—is given as HURMUS BUDASHĪR DI FAṢṬĀNAS son of ARĀMIS (or ARBIS) : while the name of the woman disciple is (A)MATŪTHĀSIYA, daughter of ASHNŪS, and mother of HUN, the Soothsayer.

That this is the treatise from which Ibn Umail quoted will be evident from the following passages that have been traced in the printed text of the *Mā' al-Waraqī* :—

P. 12, l. 2. " Then Marry him with Four Wives, for they are of his stock and he is of theirs. The only difference is that they are of different colour and genus. They are white : (but) they do not resemble the pearl in the matter of moistness, roundness and beauty. But if you do not recognise them, (know that) they are from the moist beautifully rounded Pearl. "

⁹ A mystic, and poetical writer on alchemy, who was probably born at Ikhmīm (Panopolis) in Egypt, and died c. 860 A.D.

P. 47, l. 10. "This Sage (HURMUS) has used the simile of ' Moist Pearl ' for their ' Water ' on account of its (the ' Water's ') capacity for sub-division and becoming globular and its whiteness—these are my words (Ibn Umail)—and it is raw and fresh, without being subjected to treatment. The second reason for this comparison of it to the Water of the Snail is that when the snail walks on mountains he throws out over all the length of his track as he walks some sort of thin white gleaming moisture with a bright radiance. The third reason is that the snail keeps on doing this as it comes out of its hard dry body and drags its hard body behind it as it proceeds, then it returns and enters it and disappears in it and cannot be seen."

P. 73, l. 28—p. 74, l. 11. "I shall explain to you wherefore the Sages called their Pure Silvery Water ' The Water of the Snail ' : it is in accordance with their comparing it to the water of the snail and for this comparison they have three reasons, already mentioned. The first is that the snail is white and round, being globular like the pearl for roundness, and similarly the Stone of the Sages is white and round, being globular like the pearl in its dividing. So said the Sage ABUDASHĪR HURMUS IBN ARAS in the treatise known as ' The Epistle of the Secret (*Risālat al-Sirr*) to AMNŪTHĀSIYA ' on the marrying of the Male with the Female and her sisters :—' Marry him with Four Wives '. Then he said ' If you do not know them, they are from a moist, beautifully rounded Pearl. . . (continues almost identically with the preceding extract till p. 74, l. 9 :—). . . and cannot be seen. The outside of the snail is white and dry and within its hollow is a Moving Spirit, moist and white. Similarly the Dry Body of the Sages has in it Soul and Spirit and Life and Growth. So is the statement concerning the Water-Snail, for it is created from Water and is in water, not leaving it because its life is in and from the water. . . ' "

The original text of the *Risālat al-Sirr* is said to have been found at Ikhmīm (*i. e.* Panopolis—the home city of the famous 3rd century Egyptian alchemist Zosimos) : and to have been shown to the Abbasid Caliph Ma'mūn (813–833 A.D.) when he visited Egypt.

XVI. P. 50, l. 3.

"Similarly, the ' Tincture ' of the Sages is carried in their Water. They mean that ' Water ' ; and the ' Tincture ' is carried in it over their ' White Silvery Sanctified Thirsty Earth ', which they compare to the garment (*i. e.* the garment undergoing dyeing). Then their Water flows over their Earth, and spreads through all of it; and the Tincture, which they call Soul, flows with it. HURMUS named it ' The Gold ' in his saying : ' Cultivate the Gold in a White Silvery Earth '. He meant this ' Tincture ', which they also compared to the Flowers of the Green Herbs : and they named it *Za'frān* (Saffron)¹⁰ and *'Uṣfūr* (Safflower)."

¹⁰ For the magical association of Saffron with Blood, which, in turn was regarded as the ' Soul ' of any living being, *cf.* Stapleton, *M.A.S.B. : Sal-Ammoniac : a Study in Primitive Chemistry* (Vol. I. p. 32, note 3).

XVII. P. 50, l. 17.

"HURMUS said: 'Every Subtle thing enters into every Gross thing'. He means by this statement the entry of their 'Water' into their 'Earth'. The Spiritual Resurrection takes place, and the Body, after its death, revives to everlasting life".

XVIII. P. 50, l. 26-P. 51, l. 1.

"Man, the most honourable (thing) in the World—is (born) from the sperm which is a base Water (*Qur'ān, Sūra, XXXII, v. 8*). The statement of HURMUS in this section which you have heard is just like the statement of ASFĪDŪS, the Sage¹¹. All their statements are one: one is part of the other, since he said:—and this section has been given already (Text, p. 48, l. 16): 'Take the things from their mines, and raise them to their highest places, and reap them from the top of their mountains, and return them to their origins'."

XIX. P. 53, ll. 20-24.

"MITHĀ'ŪS (MATTHEW)¹² also said in his 'Greatest Treatise' 'Divide the Water into nine parts (*aqsām*) and take one-third of it, viz., three parts (*ajzā*) and cause them to enter into the 'Golden *Talq*' of the Sages,—this being like the third of this third'. He also said concerning the Burnt Ash which has become spiritual:—"There suffices you of it one-third of the *Talq* and it is the third of the third". He called the White Body 'Golden *Talq*'. HURMUS also said in his treatise known as *Ḥarb al-Kawākib al-Barbawīya* (War of the Egyptian Temple Stars: or *Ḥarb al-Kawākib al-Turābiya*—War of the Earthly Stars): 'The original gleaming part being its *Uss* (foundation), and the part of the earth'. Hence he here made the 'Body' and the 'Ash' one thing".

XX. P. 54, ll. 3 and 7.

"HURMUS also said in some other place: 'Know that one-fourth of the 'Body' coagulates all the Water' and it (viz., that one-fourth) is equal to one-third of¹³ the Water. . . . HURMUS also said: 'One-fourth of the Body coagulates all the Water, and all the Tinctures will be manifested from it (viz. this quarter)'".

¹¹ Copies of the alchemical treatise of ASFĪDŪS to AFLARŪS exist in both the Āṣafīyah and Royal Cairo Libraries: but examination has shown that it is only another version of the Treatise of JĀMĀSP to King ARDASHĪR (*vide infra*, Sect. 5-X). Quotations from ASFĪDŪS occur in Al-Rāzī's *Shawāhid*: and the treatise was probably the source of many of the quotations found in the *Mā' al-Waraqī*: e.g. 'Cultivate Gold in the White Silvery Earth'.

¹² The Chief of the Distillers who—in addition to SANQAJĀ—took part in the discussions on Alchemy with King MARQŪNAS.

¹³ MSS. R. and P. read 'equal to the Water'.

XXI. P. 64, ll. 8-18.

"Regarding this 'Spiritual Water' and the 'Sanctified and Thirsty Earth', HURMUS the Great, crowned with the Glorious Wisdom and the Sublime Sciences, said: 'Truth it is, indubitable, certain and correct, that the High is from the Low and the Low is from the High. They bring about wonders through the 'One', just as things are produced from that One Essence (*Jawhar*) by a single Preparation'. Later, by his statement: 'Its Father is the Sun and its Mother is the Moon' he meant their 'Male', and their 'Female'. They are the two Birds which are linked together in the pictures (I have) given regarding the beginning of the Operation, and from them (the Birds) the Spiritual Tinctures are produced. And similarly they are at the end of the Operation. Later, in his statement 'the Subtle is more honourable than the Gross', he means by the 'Subtle' the Divine Spiritual Water: and by the 'Gross' the 'Earthly Body'. As for his later statement 'With gentleness and wisdom it will ascend from the Earth to the Sky, and will take fire from the Higher Lights', he means by this the 'Distillation' and the raising of the Water into the Air. As for his later statement: 'It will descend to the Earth, containing the strength of the High and the Low', he means by this the breathing in (*istīnshāq*) of the Air, and the taking of the Spirit from it, and its subsequent elevation to the highest degree of heat, and it is the 'Fire'^{13a}; and the 'Low' is the 'Body', and its content of the controlling earthly power which imparts the colours. For there lie in it those higher powers, as well as the earthly powers, which were submerged in it. The natural Operation and Decay causes it to be manifest, and hence the strength of the Earth, and of the Air, and of the Higher Fire, passed into it. Later (again) he said: 'It will overcome the High and the Low, because in it is found the Light of Lights: and consequently the Darkness will flee from it'." [P. 65, l. 17 is only a repetition of what was previously given on p. 35 top.]

XXII. P. 69, ll. 16-26.

"'The Sulphur' and 'The Sulphurs' are the names of their 'Body', which is their 'White Silvery Earth'. This is the thing in which HURMUS ordered (them) to cultivate Gold, by his words: 'Cultivate the Gold in a 'White Silvery Earth'. He means by this statement of his that its colour is the

^{13a} For the probable source cf. this explanation by Ibn Umail cf. the following passage from a Hyderabad MS. of the Treatise of HURMUS to his Son, ٢٨٢: 'Earth—the Mother (with Sulphur, which gives birth to nothing, as Father) breeds these bodies (i.e. Gold and other metals) through *breathing in* the Air, and the Humidity of the Water, and the Heat of the Fire'.

In the same MS. the alchemists' 'Egg' (cf. *supra* XI and XXX) is defined (a) as the combination of Body with Spirit: and (b) as composed of the Four Natures. The pictures that occur in the text (e.g. 'The Bride that is the Peacock' and 'The Bird entering the stomach of the Elephant') may be the prototypes of the symbolical pictures found in the earlier collections of alchemical treatises printed in Europe,

colour of Silver; and the Gold which the Sage has mentioned here is the compounded and manipulated everlasting Mercury, regarding which he said: 'Cause it to adhere by the 'Sulphurs': the Sulphurs being the Pure White 'Body'. He termed it 'Sulphurs' because it is compounded of Sulphurs. He meant by this the parts which are separated from the first and single Sulphur. He named it 'Female' because those female parts entered into it. And the Males are (also) Sulphurs. It is a compound of a single Sulphur. This is also one of their sophistries. His statement: 'After the disappearance of the Blackness, the Gold will turn again into a Silvery Stone' is because the Blackness will become manifest on this 'White Pure Earth' at the (time of) entering of the first three out of the nine parts of the 'Divine Water', and it is one-third of the nine. Then it will be whitened and the blackness will disappear. Then the above-mentioned colours will be manifested, when the remaining six parts enter. He named the Divided Water the 'Everlasting Water', because it is from the 'Body' which is Everlasting and remains permanent in Fire. It is the 'Eastern Mercury' of the Sages (which remains) in the belly of the Western Mercury. These are the two Dry and Moist Vapours (*Athālān*): and he named this 'Mercury' the 'Red Sulphur', which is not found save to a very small extent. This is 'The Sulphurs' of the Sages which they mention: and the Sulphurs of the common people are of no avail."

XXIII. P. 71, l. 14.

"ARAS in his discussion with QAIṢAR, King of Rūm, regarding this White, Clear, Red, Hidden 'Water' spoke as follows: "HURMUS said: 'It is necessary to extract the 'Spirit' with gentle fire because this 'Spirit', whose extraction must be carried out by a gentle fire like (the heat of) a brooding bird, is the 'Spirit' that imparts 'Tinctures' to the 'Natures' and torments (? sweetens—*y'dhb*) the 'Natures', because its Sulphur was (formerly) combustible, but now becomes incombustible and tinctures like the Tincture of *Arjūwān* (purple): and it is the 'Spirit of the Bodies', because it is a 'Spirit' that has been extracted'."

XXIV. P. 83, l. 18 (repeated on p. 85, l. 26).

"This is the meaning of the saying of HURMUS, crowned with virtues and honour, when questioned regarding the Art; he said, belittling it¹⁴: 'What is the Art? It is (only) Shrewdness and Cunning. It is to display what is hidden, and to hide what is manifest'. This is also the statement of ARAS, the Sage, to King THEODORUS, and of others as well—"When all things are turned into 'One Thing' how excellent is the mixture you have made".

XXV. P. 84, l. 24 to end.

"Also the saying of ARAS the Sage, in answer to QAIṢAR, King of Rūm, when he said to him: 'Explain to me the statement of the Sage: 'Putrefy the

¹⁴ From p. 85, l. 26, it appears that it may not be the Art, but the Operation, which he was belittling.

'Sea' with the 'Airy Water'. ARAS replied: This is the question which SHĪYŪN¹⁵ put to HURMUS, for SHĪYŪN asked HURMUS concerning the 'Sea', when he professed his ignorance as to the putrefaction of the 'Sea', and said: 'Do you order us, O Teacher, to place Water in Water, although (all) Water has a single Nature'? HURMUS replied: 'As regards the 'Sea' which I have ordered to be putrefied, verily its Life and Spirit is from that 'Airy Water', because the relationship between them is intricate, and I have informed you that they have named their Body, which is their 'Perfect Stone', the 'Sea'."

Later (top of p. 85) ARAS goes on to explain that "the 'Airy Water' is the 'Manipulated Divine Water', and the 'Sea' is their 'Second Body' which carries the Tincture after its Whitening and the Putrefaction". . . . "The life of this 'Sea'. . . . 'by the return of the Earth to the Water, is revived". According to a Hyderabad MS. of Al-Tughṛā'i, the celebrated Persian Vizier and alchemist (c. 1060–1120 A.D.) the name of this treatise of ARAS was 'The Book of Life' (*Maṣṣhaf al-Hayāt*: and a MS. of the treatise itself is also in the Āṣafiya Library.)

XXVI. P. 85, l. 9.

"This is the 'Pure Silvery Water', and the 'Earth'. Regarding the latter, HURMUS said to his son: "O my son, cultivate the Gold in a 'White Silvery Earth'. All (the Sages) as you see, give different descriptions of it, but (at the same time), all of them are in agreement and truthful, as will be clear to you from my explanations of these statements."

XXVII. P. 85, l. 29 to top of p. 86.

"When he (HURMUS) was questioned regarding the Art, as to the number of things from which it is produced, he replied: 'It is from two things. One is liquid and is not solidified: and the other is solidified and does not liquefy'. Another Sage said, like HURMUS: 'They are two Stones: one is solid and the other fluid.'"

XXVIII. P. 93, last line to p. 94, l. 3.

"His (JĀBIR'S) expression *Al-Ustādh al-Māhir* (The Skilful Master) is the Fifth, the last of what he mentioned, and he meant by this 'The Water', this being the 'Humid Spirit'. Some of the Sages named it *al-Hakīm* (The Sage) because it controls the Art from its beginning to its end. Had it not existed,

¹⁵ Pupil of Hermes=ŪSĪRAS, i. e. OSIRIS: vide Third *Risāla* of ZOSIMOS to Queen AWTĀSIYA—Copy of Cairo MS. f. 21, v. 1. 11. For other mentions by Ibn Umail of ŪSĪRAS (in a parable of ARAS to King MARQŪNAS regarding the conquest of Egypt by Aphrodite) cf. Arabic text, p. 88 (l. 27) 89 (l. 1). ZOSIMOS of Panopolis—the ancient Egyptian city of Chemmis: now Ikhmīm—wrote, at the end of the third century A.D., many treatises on Alchemy, e. g. that on *Maḡhnīsiyā* referred to on p. 82, ll. 15 and 16 of the Arabic text,

the Art would not have arisen. It is HURMUS. Consequently, JĀBIR¹⁶ named it 'The Skilful Master', because the Sages called it 'The Sage'. [P. 95, l. 19]. "As for the Third (? constituent) which JĀBIR somewhere mentioned, together with these 'Two Brothers' of his which I have already (p. 71, l. 25) explained to you, he meant by it their 'White Body', this being amongst them the 'Retainer of the Tinctures with the Ash'. This Ash I have called, in my book *Miftāḥ al-Hikmat al-Uẓmā* (Key of the Greater Wisdom), 'HURMUS, the Father of Tinctures'. I meant by the 'Tinctures', the 'Souls' and the 'Spirits' which are the Moistures that are extracted from it" (*i. e.* in the process).

XXIX. P. 99, ll. 22.

"HURMUS said regarding this Vapour (*bukhār*), proceeding from the Two Vapours, which inhales the 'Spirit' from the Air and thereby becomes both living and imparting life to that which it enters with gentleness and wisdom: 'It rises from the Earth to the Sky and gathers the Light from above, and (then) descends to the Earth, having within it the strength of (both) the High and the Low, and consequently dominates over both the High and Low because it possesses the Light of Lights; and therefore the darkness flees from it. All these parables, which the Sages coined, dealt with subtle things". (Cf. No. XXI, 11, 14 and 15).

XXX. P. 102, ll. 15-21.

"Also from the saying of HURMUS: 'When the Lower Vapour breaks bounds and flows in the subtle veins (? of the Earth), the Higher Vapour will descend into it from the Air, and one Vapour will conceive from the other Vapour. The Conception (*ḥabl*) of everything is from the Two Vapours, and, from nothing else will creatures arise. They both become solid, and dissolve, and conceive, and give birth. From them are born all Tinctures, Fruits and Flowers, and from them is born the 'Egg'—which we have described in our hidden books¹⁷—and from which appear all the Colours of the Art and its Tinctures."

"Understand these parables, as well as the saying of the sage HURMUS: 'the Conception of everything is from the Two Vapours and from nothing else will creatures arise'. His statement: 'From them are born all Tinctures, Fruits, and Flowers': it is by now clear to you from these expressions and (also from a consideration of) the Two Vapours, from which the creatures arise,

¹⁶ Successor of KHĀLID IBN YAZĪD as the (second) Father of Arabic Alchemy. Jābir's life extended from 722 to c. 803 A.D. and he was a most voluminous writer. Possibly—as Kraus has suggested—his works underwent considerable recension in the ninth century: but there can be little doubt that many of them were originally compiled for the Shī'ite Imām JA'FAR AL-ŠĀDIQ, who died in 765 A.D.

¹⁷ *al-kutub al-maktūma*: Is one of these *al-Saḥīfat al-Maḥfīya* mentioned by Maṣmūdi? (cf. *M.A.S.B.*, XII, p. 127, top).

that in the impurities of your ' Bodies ' and ' Drugs ', and worthless, combustible and dry ' Sulphurs ', there is no avail."

4. The Greek Alchemical fragments attributed to Hermes.

The Greek alchemical writings contain some 30 fragments, mostly of a few words only, attributed to or concerned with Hermes. These have been set out and discussed in detail on pp. 240-282 of *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* by Le R. P. Festugière, O.P. (Paris 1944). In view of the fact that these must represent but a very small fraction of the work of Hermes the probability of discovering in them phrases contained in the likewise scanty Arabic sayings of Hermes is but small, and the existence of even the single precise coincidence that has been found between them is strong evidence of their common source.

By examining these few passages from the Greek alchemical writings we may gather that Hermes had the reputation of being the first alchemical writer, and that his books were extant in the period when the Greek alchemical texts were being composed. We can find mention of six or seven Greek alchemical treatises which bore the name of Hermes. These were *The Little Key*, *Treatise to Pausiris*, *On the Whitening of Lead*, *On Sieves*, *The Pyramid*; the works *Concerning Natures*, *Concerning Immateriality*, and the *Heptabiblos* may or may not be alchemical.

The fragments quoted indicate that one of these books was concerned with the washing of gold-sands and the making of solid gold from the grains so obtained, which process seems to be signified by the word ' chrysocolla '. It does not seem impossible that this work had a very ancient Egyptian origin and might be a record of the methods of the temple-workshops. In addition to these we find a series of references to the use of volatile arsenical or sulphurous substances for whitening or otherwise colouring metals; these seem to have been treated in the *Little Key*, for the *komaris* (mentioned as being treated therein) seems to be such a substance. The writings on Magnesia may belong to the same work.

Lastly we note a number of aphorisms and philosophic discussions which may be thought to have a somewhat gnostic character. These may emanate from the *Pyramid* and *Treatise on Natures*. It must be emphasised that any attempt to assign these fragments to particular works is very hazardous, but we may at least note the existence of these three different elements in the Hermetic fragments. The *Emerald Table*, which in all probability had a Greek original, may be a separate work.

The comparison of the *Sayings of Hermes* as quoted by Ibn Umail with the fragments of the Greek alchemical Hermes and with other early alchemical texts makes it certain that the former had a Greek original. One peculiar phrase ' the good thing with many names ' appears both in the Arabic *Sayings of Hermes* and in a fragment of Hermes in the Greek texts and not, we believe, elsewhere. The remainder of the Arabic *Sayings of Hermes* is for the most

part capable of being paralleled by the phraseology and ideas of the extant Greek texts. Some instances of this parallelism are given below.

The strong likeness of many passages to the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra* is notable and we may suppose that this and the Hermetic treatises emanate from a similar period and school of alchemical ideas.

5. *Parallels between the Sayings of Hurmus and Greek Writings.*

I. The whole of this saying is in the Greek vein, and is paralleled by §8 of the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra* (Coll.¹⁸ 292). Thus:—'. . . how the *highest* descends to the *lowest* how the blessed *waters* descend from on high to visit the dead. . . . afflicted in darkness and shade'. Later 'the *cloud* sustains them and (§12) . . . the *cloud* waters the plant'. 'The strength of the lowest and the highest' of course, comes from the Emerald Table, but the antithesis of lowest and highest is found throughout Greek alchemy.

II. References to Water in Greek alchemy are too numerous to be cited here.

MĀRIYA is, of course, Maria the Jewess, mentioned so often in the Greek texts, and this passage is altogether in character with her writings. The notions of Soul and Spirit are continually found in the Greek texts.

Demokritos is quoted as saying "If the medicine becomes somewhat like *marble*, great is the mystery" (Coll. 162, 14) and there are other similar passages. The notion of water as an angel is not, however, found, unless the latter word is a translation of πνεῦμα.

The analogy of the alchemical process to the conception and birth of the child is found in §16 of the work which is attributed to John the Archpriest, but actually consists of excerpts from some work of Zosimos (Coll. 266).

III. 'The Rain which revives the Lower World' is strongly reminiscent of §8 of the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra* cited above, and of other passages which speak of the Bodies as being in Hades until they are revived.

'Silvery water'. The Alchemical Lexicon (Coll. 5) gives 'Silvery stream, vapour of sulphur and mercury': the phrase 'silvery water' or 'water of silver' is used in four other places in the Greek texts.

The phrase 'The Good of Many Names' is attributed to Hermes in a fragment perhaps of the VIIth century. Τοῦτο γὰρ Ἑρμῆς τὸ ταῦτὸν ἔφησεν ὡς πολυνόμον ἀγαθόν. (Coll. 282, 14). The latter words clearly indicate the identity of Ibn Umail's Hurmus with the Greek Hermes.

IV. The passage here cited from Hermes is in character with the Greek texts, except in the matter of 'reddening'. The sequence of colours in the Greek texts is black→white→yellow following on to violet, if *iosis* is correctly translated as 'violet-colouration'. However in the 'Headings of the work of

¹⁸ Coll. is used to denote Berthelot. *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs*, Vol. II, Textes,

Zosimos addressed to Theodoros' (Coll. 215, l. 8), it is said that 'the yellow becomes blood-coloured and stable and finally like dried saffron'. The rest of the passage deals with ideas and phrases, which can be paralleled many times in the Greek alchemical works. 'Rennet' does not seem to be mentioned in the Greek alchemical texts.

IV and V. 'White Silvery earth'. This precise phrase is not used in the Greek alchemical works, but 'White Earth' is many times referred to.

VI. 'The Humid Spirit'. This phrase is found in one of the earliest texts the 'Oracle of Apollo' which speaks of 'a Spirit, darker, humid, pure.' (Coll. 171, l. 11.)

VII. 'Everything' is presumably the Greek *το πᾶν* 'The All,' so often mentioned. The functions of water in different plants do not seem to be mentioned, but an analogy may be found in the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra*, §7 (Coll. 292).

VIII. *Maghnīsiyā*. Hermes wrote concerning Magnesia for, to quote Zosimos (Coll. 198, l. 3), "And Hermes again said 'The Body of Magnesia, the measure and treatment of which you wish to learn'.

'It is a Microcosm. . . . etc.'" Olympiodoros (Coll. 100) in §51 tells us that Hermes called Man the 'Little World' (*μικρὸν κόσμον*). The idea of manifesting the hidden nature and of rejecting the merely external colour is common in Greek alchemy.

The dialogue of Marqūnas and Sanqajā, it may be noted, shows many more ideas foreign to Greek Alchemy than do the parts attributed to Hurmus.

The parable of the Animals of the Land and Sea does not seem to find any analogy in Greek Alchemical writings, though the contrast is proverbial in Arabic :—"I shall not do this until the lizard goes to water".

IX. We have an echo here of the 'Nature rejoicing in the Nature', the principal maxim of the earliest Greek alchemists. The idea of the birth of a child has been referred to under II above.

The passage that follows is not of Hermes, and we note that the notion that the Element of Heat is Oiliness, does not seem to occur in the Greek alchemical writings. On the other hand, in the Arabic treatise of HURMUS to his son TĀT, Hurmus refers to Oil—which is described as 'The Master of Water'—as being midway between Water and Fire: and goes on to state that, through Oil (or 'The Oils'), "there is a close relationship between Mercury, Sulphur and Fire. Just as the Fire is kindled in the Oil, so also it is kindled in the Sulphur" (MS. in the Āṣafiyah Library, Hyderabad). It would therefore seem probable that Greek theory actually dealt with the function of Oiliness in alchemical operations,

X. This passage concerning the analogy of Marriage, Conception and Birth is not characteristic of Greek alchemy, though not foreign to it. The birth of the child in the top of the *ambix* is not found therein. None the less this idea is extremely important in later alchemy and may well be believed to have emanated from some Greek texts that have been lost, possibly those of Hermes.

The possibility that these biological comparisons were derived from Greek sources through Iran must not be overlooked. In both the Rampur and Hyderabad Libraries, MS. copies occur of a treatise entitled 'Risālah of JĀMĀS (P), the Sage, for ARDASHĪR the King, on the Hidden Secret: and it is a wonderful treatise translated from Persian into Arabic': and, in this, the following paragraph is found: "Your Fire in the beginning should be moderate; but when the 'Natures' have been united in Marriage (*Tazwij*) and one grasps the other—the 'Spirit' grasping the 'Body' and the 'Body' the 'Spirit'—and one does not flee from the other, the Seeker will have secured the 'Fleer'".

This alchemical treatise was known to al-Nadīm: and this and other passages from Jāmāsp are quoted in the *Shawāhid* of al-Rāzī. It is therefore certain that it was well known in 'Iraq, c. 900 A.D.: but whether the Persian original was actually written as early as the time of the first Sasanian King, *i. e.* in the first half of the 3rd century, or—as is more probable—it was compiled in Persia after the Neoplatonist Philosophers (expelled by Justinian) had been settled by Nūshirwān at Jund Shāpūr, 120 miles N.N.E. of the modern Basra, c. 550 A.D., remains for the present an open question. It may, however, be noted that the general contents of the treatises are very similar to what is found in the writings of Greek alchemists, and that the only authorities mentioned are Demokritos and his master Ostanēs.

XI. The texts (e. g. *Coll.* 18–21) on the *Parts of the Egg* are ancient and show that an attempt was made to assimilate or classify all the materials of the work as parts of the Egg. The notion that 'One' is 'Every Body' is clearly the 'One is the All', ἐν τὸ πᾶν of the Greek Alchemists, which is inscribed in the egg-shaped space bounded by the serpent Ouroboros in the so-called *Chrysopoeia of Kleopatra* ¹⁹.

'Every Drug'. The Greek word *pharmakon* is commonly used for the preparation intended to colour metals.

XII. It seems difficult to know how much of this complicated analogy is to be attributed to Hurmus: *cf.* the remarks made in X above.

XIII. The notion of Marriage with a Sister is not found in Greek alchemy, though it would, of course, have been familiar to early Alexandrian alchemists owing to the habit among Egyptian rulers of marrying their half-sisters.

XIV. 'The Two Vapours'. These derive from the *Meteors* (III, 6) of Aristotle and are continually discussed in Greek alchemical texts. In several

¹⁹ M. Berthelot. *Collections des Alchimistes Grecs*, Introduction, p. 132.

of the surviving texts of Hermes he speaks of whitening bodies with smoke (*καπνός*: which Zosimos identifies with *αἰθάλη*, a smoky vapour). Some of the ideas of this paragraph find analogies in the §§11, 12 of the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra*, but the three imbibitions symbolised by the Three Marriages find no analogy in Greek Alchemy.

XV. 'Silvery Water' (cf. III above). 'Water of the Snail'. This is similar to some of the many names of the Divine Water, which are listed in the various catalogues of liquids. A paragraph on the 'Pearl' as a technical term in the Art is given by a commentator (*Coll.* 114).

XVI. In respect of the passage cited from HURMUS, see X above. The flowers of plants are often referred to in Greek alchemy and are used to denote either actual yellow flowers, used in colouring metals, or efflorescences, e.g. flowers of copper, flowers of salt. Saffron is an important material in Greek Alchemy, being used as a dye-liquor for staining white metals to imitate gold (a practice which survived till the seventeenth century): but in certain passages it seems to represent some mineral.

XVII. The terms 'subtle' and 'gross' do not seem to be found in Greek alchemy, but the idea is expressed by the terms Spirit and Soul, *πνεῦμα* and *ψύχη*, as opposed to Body, *σῶμα*. The notion of resurrection is often found, and very vividly in the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra* §§14-16 (*Coll.* 296).

XIX. Nothing closely parallel to this is found in the Greek alchemical texts.

XX. The proportions of the materials are commonly given in Greek Alchemy, and this is not out of character.

XXI. This is a commentary on the Emerald Table, of which a Greek original is not known, but probably existed. The term 'Bird' for a volatile substance is used by Zosimos (*Coll.* 138). 'The Raising of the Water' is a common alchemical term for distillation *τοῦ ὕδατος ἢ ἄρσις* (*Coll.* 53, l. 13) and is found in early works, e.g. the *Natural and Mystical Questions* of Demokritos.

XXII. The Greek Hermes also refers to 'the Sulphurs' for we are told that 'Hermes calls the Sulphurs Combustible Bodies' (*Coll.* 273). The latter of the two quotations in this section might well refer to a process of amalgamation used in the extraction of Gold from gold sands by the use of mercury. Note the word *Athālān*, evidently the Greek *αἰθάλαι*, commonly used for these vapours.

XXIII. The colouring agent is said in Greek alchemy (*Coll.* 173, 249 &c.) to be a tingeing spirit, *βαπτικὸν πνεῦμα*.

The 'Heat of the Brooding Bird' is prescribed in the *Dialogue of Komarios and Kleopatra* (*Coll.* 295).

XXIV. See notes on XI, above.

XXVII. This saying does not appear in the Greek alchemical writings: but the question of solidifying the matter often appears, (*e. g.* *Coll.* 163).

XXIX and XXX. This refers to the Emerald Table and develops Aristotle's theory of the Two Vapours. These ideas appear very clearly in later alchemy but are absent from the Greek texts.

6. Conclusion.

To sum up this comparison, no-one who has studied the Greek Alchemical writings will have any reason not to accept the sayings of Hurnus contained in the *Mā al-Waraqī* as being ultimately direct translations of portions of the lost Greek works attributed to Hermes.

The Arabic treatises bearing his name that have been referred to in the earlier part of this paper certainly deserve further careful study as a possible means of recovering much of what has failed to survive in the original Greek.

TRUTH'S GOLDEN HARROW.

AN UNPUBLISHED ALCHEMICAL TREATISE OF ROBERT FLUDD
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

By C. H. JOSTEN.

A MANUSCRIPT in the Bodleian Library (MS. Ashmole 766) contains a hitherto unpublished text entitled :

' Truths goulden Harrow/Framed and fashioned by a loyall and/
faythfull servant of Virgin/Alchimy/to breake and prepare thos
gross/clodds of Errour and to correct/thos fourrow baukes w^{ch} the/
blunt Plowsheare of a mis-/beleever in the materiall/Elixir hath left
im-/perfect in his Til-/lage of Light./Latent adhuc Lillium et Rosa/
inter spinas./Experientia Veritatis sigillum./written by Doctor Robert
Flodd, & with his owne hand.' ¹

As W. H. Black's *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.* points out, the last sentence of the title was added by Elias Ashmole. That Ashmole's assumption regarding the handwriting is correct, is proved by the only other undoubtedly genuine specimen of Fludd's handwriting, a dedication and signature in the commonplace book of the German mystic Joachim Morsius (1593-1643), which is in the Luebeck City Library (Luebecker Stadtbibliothek)². The handwriting of the last 12 of the 57 double pages of our manuscript is different, and they may have been written by an amanuensis (*cf.* footnote 60).

The contents of the treatise, as will be seen later on, make it a safe hypothesis that Robert Fludd was not only its writer but also its author. In fact, even if there were no evidence for the authenticity of the handwriting, it would have been natural to attribute the authorship to Robert Fludd and not to an unknown author, for Fludd's own characteristic ideas and expressions, such as the *Summum Bonum*, form the treatise's main argument.

MS. Ashmole 1507, art. 9, p. 183 *sqq.*, contains a transcription of the same text, which, to judge by the writer's very neat hand, probably dates from the

¹ The words underlined have been struck out in the MS.

² *Cf.* Heinrich Schneider, *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis*, Luebeck 1929. On p. 23 there is a photostat reproduction of Fludd's entry. It covers a whole page and is signed 'Rob. Fludd, Armiger & Medicinæ utriusque Doctor'.—This signature, which probably dates from 1620, is not very similar to the supposedly autograph name of Fludd in MS. Ashmole 1462, dated 1612. But the handwritten dedication in the Bodleian copy of Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (shelf-number : P. 2.14, Med.) does not seem to have been recognised, so far, as an autograph. It is in my opinion written by the same hand as the MS. of *Truth's Golden Harrow* and the page in Morsius's commonplace book.

end of the 17th century. The title-page is omitted and the transcription is only fairly accurate. The text as given in this paper is based on the original (MS. Ashmole 766).

The 'misbeleever in the materiall Elixir' and author of *The Tillage of Light*, against whom Fludd's treatise is directed, was Patrick Scot (or Scott). According to the Dictionary of National Biography, little of importance is known about him. He was a follower of James I and probably acted occasionally as tutor to Prince Charles. His writings are:

1. Omnibus et singulis affording matter profitable for all men, necessarie for every man, alluding to a father's advice or last will to his sonne; London 1619 and 1620.
2. Calderwood's Recantation, or a Tripartite Discourse directed to such of the Ministrie and others in Scotland that refuse conformitie to the Ordinancies of the Church &c; London 1622.
3. Vox Vera, or observations from Amsterdam examining the late insolencies of some pseudopuritans separatists from the Church of Great Britaine; London 1625.
4. The/Tillage/of Light/, or/a true Discoverie/of the Philosophical Elixir commonly called the Philosophers Stone Serving to enrich all true, noble and generous Spirits, as will adventure some few labours in the tillage of such a light, as is worthy the best observance of the most Wise. By PATRICK SCOT, Esquire. Age et pati fortia, sed Misereri et sapere difficile. Tamen Quemcumque fortem videris miserum ne dixeris quia Labore et patientia dura molescent. London. Printed for William Lee, and are to be sold at his shop neare Serieants lane in Fleet street, at the sign of the Golden Bucke, 1623.

The whole title page of this last work has been cited here, because it is this book that Fludd in his *Truth's Golden Harrow* intended to confute. It has 49+viii pages and contains about 10,000 words. It is dedicated to John, Marquis of Hamilton. The theme of the book is that alchemy is simply an allegory, in which the process of obtaining and perfecting wisdom is represented by the various terms and processes used in alchemical works. The style is more than a little wordy and diffuse and the brief treatise cannot have cost its author much labour.

It seems curious that Fludd in *Truth's Golden Harrow* never mentions Scot's name. He refers to him in such terms as 'our late Tiller of light', 'our husbandman', 'our plowman' and in the last sentence of the MS. he apostrophizes him almost as a person of unknown identity 'or else you ar disguised in a higher degree then Proteus was' and 'how so ever you prove Proteus'. It seems more likely that Fludd thus wanted to express his contempt for the obscurity of Patrick Scot than that he actually did not know his name. Alternatively, it must be assumed that Fludd, when he wrote *Truth's Golden*

Harrow, knew *The Tillage of Light* only from an anonymous and probably handwritten copy. This alternative, however, is all the more improbable, because Fludd's MS. in several places refers to the actual pagination of *The Tillage of Light* as it was printed in 1623.

It strikes the modern reader as peculiar that treatises on alchemy should be entitled *The Tillage of Light* and *Truth's Golden Harrow*, as, for him, there is no obvious connexion between such agricultural activities as tilling or harrowing and the work of the alchemist. But to a seventeenth-century student of alchemy the allegoric symbolism of such titles cannot have been so very remote.



Fig. 1.—Emblema VI in M. Majer's *Atalanta Fugiens*, Oppenheim 1618, p. 33.

In fact, several alchemical authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stress the close analogy existing between the labours of the farmer and the work of the alchemist. Fludd's friend Michael Majer (or Maier), for instance, in his *Atalanta Fugiens*³ devotes one of De Bry's marvellous copperplate etchings to the illustration of this analogy. The etching represents the alchemical husbandman sowing gold into the furrows of a field which he has previously 'foliated', *i.e.* worked with his harrow. The explanatory Latin strophe accompanying the picture (Fig. 1) runs :

³ Michael Majer, *Atalanta Fugiens*, Oppenheim 1618, p. 33.

Ruricolae pingui mandant sua semina terrae,
 Cum fuerit rastris haec foliata suis.
 Philosophi niveos aurum docuere per agros
 Spargere, qui folii se levis instar habent :
 Hoc ut agas, illud bene respice, namque quod aurum
 Germinet, ex tritico videris, ut speculo.

Both farmer and alchemist, Majer explains, imitate, emendate and perfect Nature by adding the necessary and missing to their *subjectum naturale* or by removing the superfluous from it. The farmers have their earth, so have the alchemists. Both use manure and both wish for the multiplication of their seeds. The farmers expect rain and the sun's heat to promote their crops ; likewise the alchemists administer such heat and rain as will suit their work. ' Chemia ', Majer continues, ' est omnino parallela agriculturae, eiusque vicaria, quae per omnes eius vices exprimit, at sub allegoria absolutissima '. The rabble alone, he goes on, will fail to see more in agriculture and wine-growing than a method of producing food and wine, whilst to the wise man they reveal the innermost secrets of Nature ⁴.

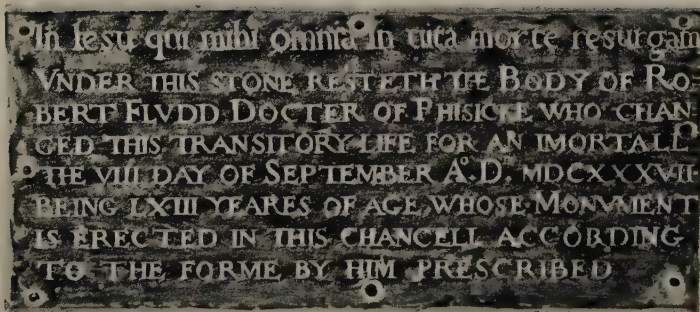
Jodocus Greverus in his *Secretum Nobilissimum et Verissimum* instructs his pupil in almost identical fashion : ' Accipe itaque tu, charissime, verborum meorum legitimum sensum & intellige, quia Philosophi similes sunt hortulanis & agricolis, qui primum quidem semina deligunt, et delecta non in vulgarem terram, sed in excultos agros, aut hortorum iugera seminant, seminata tandem calori Solis, caelique ac terrae benignitati committunt, expectantes debitum idoneo tempore fructum ' ⁵. Fludd mentions and quotes Greverus's book in his *Clavis Philosophiae et Alchymiae Fluddanae* (Frankfurt 1633), p. 82, and expresses his approval of the alleged analogy of agriculture and alchemy by quoting from the New Testament the parable of the vine (John xv, 1-8), and also I Cor. iii, 6-8, to which he attributes an alchemical meaning.

Michael Majer (*op. cit.* p. 35) mentions the above book of Greverus along with a *Tractatus de Tritico*. ' Uterque agriculturae operationes singulas in producendo tritico auri seminationi seu tincturae generationi venustissime accomodavit '. It has not been possible to trace a book entitled ' Tractatus de Tritico ', but it can hardly be doubted that Majer was referring here to Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (Frankfurt 1633) the first part of which bears the title ' De exacta alimenti panis seu tritici anatomia '. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Joachim Morsius, who was a friend of both Fludd and Majer, in a handwritten marginal note to Fludd's entry in his commonplace book (*cf.* footnote 2), ascribes to Fludd the authorship of a ' Lib. de Tritico '. Actually Fludd describes in the first part of his *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* the creation of the world, the salvation of Man's soul and the preparation of the Philosophers'

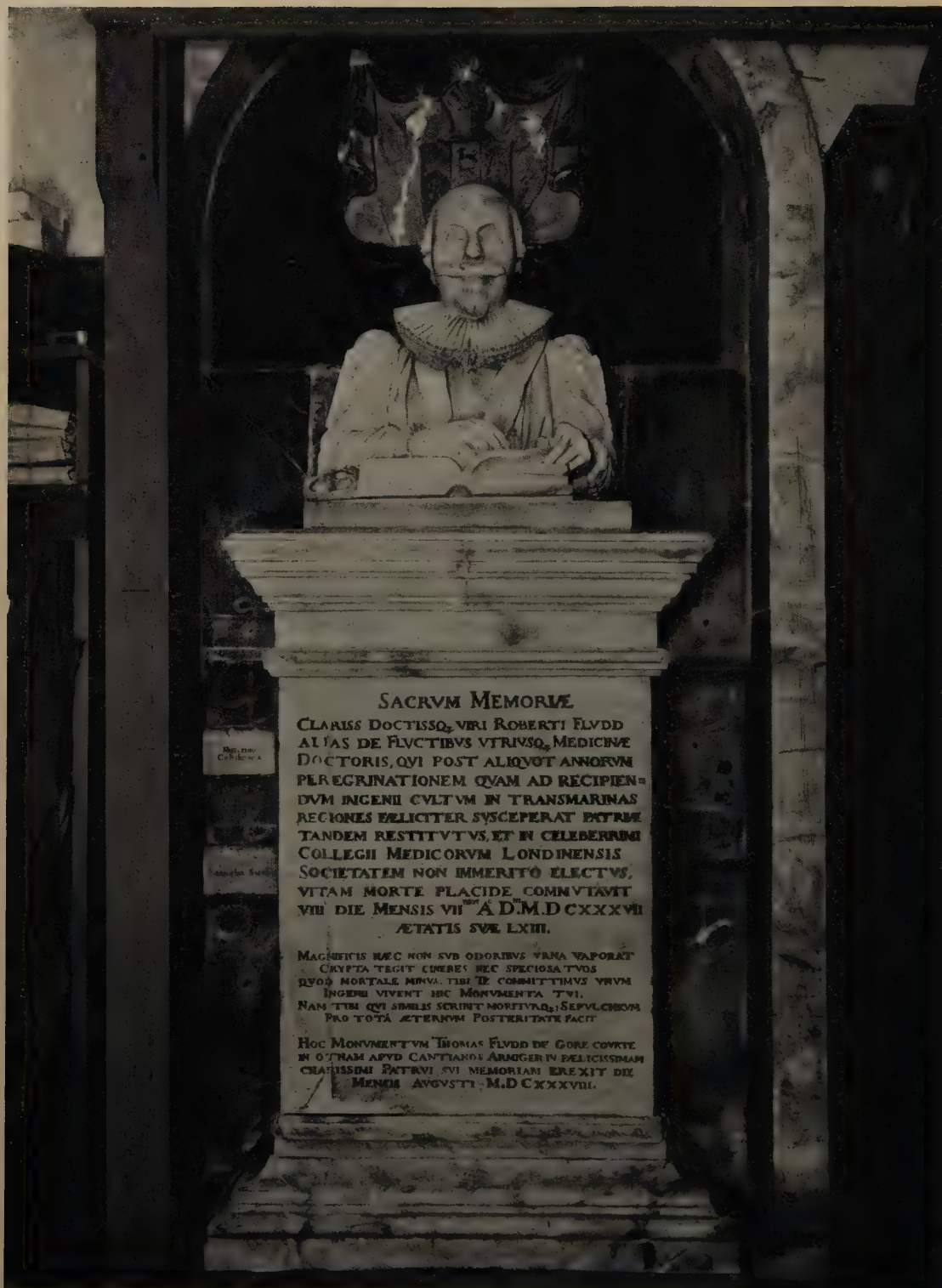
⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 34.

⁵ *Theatrum Chemicum*, Ursel 1602, vol. III, p. 785, 786. The work of Greverus was first published at Leyden in 1588.

PLATE I.



Brass in Bearsted Church, commemorating Robert Fludd.



SACRVM MEMORIÆ

CLARISS DOCTISSQ. VERI ROBERTI FLVDD
ALIAS DE FLVCTIVS VTRVVSQ. MEDICINÆ
DOCTORIS, QUI POST ALIQVOT ANNO RV M
PEREGRINATIONEM QVAM AD RECIPIE N
DV M INGENI CVLTVM IN TRANSMARINAS
REGIONES ELICITER SYSCEPERAT EXTRA
TANDEM RESTITVTVS, ET IN CELEBERRIMI
COLLEGII MEDICORVM LONDINENSIS
SOCIETATEM NON IMMERITO ELECTVS,
VITA M MORTE FLACIDE COMVTVAVIT
VIII DIE MENSIS VII^{NI} A.D.M.D.CXXXVII
ÆTATIS SVÆ LXIII.

MAGNETIS HEC NON SVB ODORIBVS VANA VAPORAT
CRYPTA TEGIT CEREES HEC SPECIOSATVOS
QVOS MORTALE MORA TIBI DE COMMITTVIS VIVVM
INGENS VIVENT HEC MONVMENTA TVI
NAM TVM QVI SVBIS SCRIPIT MORTIVVS, SEPVLCHRON
PRO TOTA ÆTERNVM POSTERITATE FACIT

HOC MONVMENTVM THOMAS FLVDD DE GORE CORTE
IN OTIAM APVD CANTIANDE ARMIGER IN FELICISSIMAM
CHARISSIMI PATRIS VII MEMORIAM EREXIT DIE
MENSIS AVGVSTI M.D.CXXXVIII.

Monument of Robert Fludd in Bearsted Church.

Stone as all symbolized by the production of wheat^{5a}. Majer and Morsius may have known the first chapter of Fludd's *Anatomia* in the manuscript stage and it may, at that time, have been intended as a separate work ' *de Tritico* '.

It may be worth while here to add with regard to the curious title of Patrick Scot's *Tillage of Light* that the latter word for the seventeenth century student of alchemy was not only a synonym of Truth, but also had a distinctly alchemical connotation. In fact, the philosophers' stone was frequently compared and even identified with Light and especially with the Eternal Light⁶. It is consistent with this symbolism that the alchemists' sign for the desired result of their material process, namely gold, is the same as the ancient astronomers' and astrologers' sign for the sun. *The Tillage of Light* for the learned alchemist of Fludd's time, therefore, meant the same as the explanatory, if ironical, subtitle which Scot joined to it: ' a true discoverie of the Philosophical Elixir '.

When *The Tillage of Light* appeared in 1623, Robert Fludd was approaching the fiftieth year of his life. He was born in 1574 at Milgate House in the parish of Bearsted, Kent. The family was of Welsh origin. In 1591 he entered St. John's College, Oxford, as a commoner. Having taken his B.A. degree in 1596 and his M.A. degree in 1598, he appears to have travelled for about six years in France, Germany, Italy and Spain as a tutor to young noblemen. On his return he went to Christ Church and, in 1605, received the degrees of M.B. and M.D. In 1606 he was made a member of the College of Physicians. Fludd resided and practised chiefly in London. He was highly esteemed and his cures were regarded as very successful. He died in London at the age of 63. His tomb, brass and sepulchral monument are in the church of his native village of Bearsted⁷, and are illustrated in Plates I and II.

It is difficult to do justice to Fludd's position as a distinguished scientist in terms of modern thought. His numerous and voluminous writings⁸ comprise not only medicine, physiognomy, mechanics, pneumatics, surveying, optics, the theory of music, cosmology and meteorology, but also cabalistic philosophy, alchemy, astrology, chiromancy and geomancy. In all these fields he was certainly one of the most profoundly learned men of his time. He combined a very systematic mind with originality and an exalted flight of imagination. R. T.

^{5a} The theme recurs in *Truth's Golden Harrow*, pp. 131, ff. *infra*.

⁶ Cf. e. g. J. A. Siebmacher, *Hydrolithus Sophicus seu Aquarium Sapientum*, Frankfurt 1625, p. 152, ' Unicus perfectusque Salvator omnium imperfectorum corporum & hominum est verus/coelestisque animae medicus, aeternum lumen quod omnes homines illuminat.' Khunrath (*Vom Hylealischen Chaos*, Magdeburg 1616, p. 71 *sqq.*) even relates the Philosophers' Stone to the light that ' shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not ' (John, i, 5).

⁷ Cf. D.N.B., vol. vii, p. 348 *sqq.* J. B. Craven's book *Doctor Robert Fludd (Robertus de Fluctibus)*, *The English Rosicrucian, Life and Writings*, Kirkwall 1902, is not in all respects a reliable source of information. The author of this paper wishes to record his gratitude to the Rev. W. H. Yeandle, Vicar of Bearsted, who kindly furnished the photographs which appear as Plates I and II.

⁸ The most complete catalogue of Fludd's published works is to be found in Mangetus *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum*, Geneva 1731. Tom. I, Part II, p. 298.

Gunther's statement that 'the illustrations in his *Macrocosmi Historia* depicting optical experiments still serve as figures in modern physical text-books after three centuries of use'⁹ is in itself an immense tribute to Fludd's importance in the modern history of science. As another illustration of his genius, it may be mentioned here that Fludd is reckoned among the possible inventors of the thermometer¹⁰. On the other hand it must be said that a wide gulf seems to separate his work from any research in the modern sense of the word. Fludd himself would probably have attributed very little importance to any such progress of practical science as the invention of the thermometer. In fact, he did not believe in the intrinsic value of inductive and experimental methods. Above all he was a mystic and a religious philosopher. Any phenomenon or achievement belonging to the sphere of material appearances, therefore, was of interest to him only in so far as it provided an illustration of his theological theories which, apart from visionary intuition, he arrived at by merely deductive, if very subtle and learned reasoning. All natural science, for him, has its roots in divine revelation, and the Bible is its main and paramount source. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that all of Fludd's physicochemical works abound with quotations from the Bible and cabalistic authors, and it is very typical indeed that he, for instance, ascribed the principles of thermodynamics to Moses¹¹ and explained meteorological phenomena mainly as a manifestation of divine or demonic interference¹². The second Latin motto of our manuscript's title page 'Experientia Veritatis Sigillum', therefore, must not be taken at its modern face value, but only as an assertion of the author's firm belief in the real existence of the Philosophers' Stone.

Fludd's whole work is conditioned by Hermetic tradition. He was not only familiar with the copious alchemical literature of his time, but actually modelled all his fundamental views on alchemical principles. In the *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae Fluddanae*¹³, one of his last works, he gives a summary of his views on alchemy and explains it as a universal science and as the all-pervading pattern of the created world. All true sages, cabalists and philosophers, including Moses, David, Job, Solomon and the apostles, he affirms, dealt with alchemy (*ibid.* p. 78). Moses particularly proved himself an alchemist in describing the creation of the universe. Alchemy is the law of Macrocosm and Microcosm, the supernatural world as well as of Nature and of the artist working on Nature. In all these different spheres the effect of the 'virtus spagyrica' is essentially the same. In every one of them the pure is separated from the

⁹ R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, Oxford 1920-45, vol. XI, p. 203; see also Parts III and IV, 1923, p. 273, 278.

¹⁰ Cf. F. Sherwood Taylor, *The origin of the thermometer*, *Annals of Science*, vol. 5, No. 2, Dec. 1942.

¹¹ Cf. Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy*, London 1659, p. 3.

¹² Cf. Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra et Vere Christiana*, Frankfurt 1626, p. 225 sqq.

¹³ Frankfurt 1633, pp. 77 sqq.

impure, good from evil, light from darkness, the subtle and lucid holy waters of the upper heaven from the gross and dark elementary waters of the lower. '... nihil in toto mundo natura perficitur, quod operatione Chymica seu Spagyrica Verbum Dei non operetur' (p. 80). The one and only force behind all these purifying changes and separations is 'Verbi Divini virtus Spagyrica, seu Spiritus Sapientiae, seu Christus spiritualis' and their object is the final transmutation of all impure matter into a pure and heavenly substance 'per viam compositionis et constrictionis' (p. 80). 'Alchymia ista divina mundus est conflatus, in coelum, quod est eius subtile, et terram, quae est eius grossum' (p. 79). Christ is the corner stone (lapis angularis) of the universe, which by His action and might alone is supported and preserved in its present state (*ibid.*).

The Verbum Divinum follows the same mode of operation in the generation and preservation of the Microcosm or Man 'spiritu suo seu arte Spagyrica et chymia naturali mirabiliter in eo operando' (p. 80). The formation of the embryo and the digestion of food in the human body are especially described as alchemical processes (*ibid.*).

Finally Fludd states his views on alchemy considered as the human art of transmuting earthly metals into gold. He contemptuously calls it 'chymia vulgaris' and considers it as of little importance to the true philosopher, who, he affirms, is mainly concerned with the transmutation of the human soul. 'Mundani enim mundanis inhiant. Omnes vero in Theo-Philosophia profunde versati aestimaverunt maximum esse in homine opus' (p. 81). The Philosophers' Stone that we ought to search for is, therefore, above all, Jesus Christ, who dwells in us and is the quintessence of our lives. 'Ergo Christus summus Lapis ille angularis est in nobis, super cuius bases superædificamur' (p. 81). '... luce clarius patet, quod Petra ista spiritualis sit illa, ad quem non solum Fratres Crucis Roseæ, sed etiam Viri a Deo electi, puta Patriarchæ, Prophetæ et Apostoli quos illi in spirituali illa Alchymia imitantur, respexerunt' (p. 83). For the Rosicrucians, therefore, and indeed for all wise men, the making of material gold is only of symbolical value. 'Regimen vulgare Chymicorum ipsis non est nisi umbra et typus ænigmaticus chymiae veræ. Non habent enim in Arte sua Chymica aurum vulgi, nec argentum, nec ignem vulgarem, nec fornaces artificiales, quippe quæ omnia aut mortua sunt, aut saltem non nisi superficialia, respectu materialium verorum' (p. 84) ¹⁴.

¹⁴ Views on Alchemy similar to those here cited from the *Clavis Philosophiæ & Alchymiae Fluddanae* are to be found in the *Summum Bonum*, Frankfurt 1629, p. 24 sqq. & passim. This treatise is included in the collected works of Fludd and is generally ascribed to him, although it appeared under the name of Joachimus Frizius. It was printed in 1629 and appeared as an appendix to Fludd's *Medicina Catholica*. (See printer's note on the back of the title page.) Fludd, in his *Clavis* (p. 20), expressly disowns the authorship and says, the author is an intimate friend of his. On p. 22, however, he seems to recede from this statement, saying that his friend laid the principal foundations of the book, and on p. 26 he admits that he translated part of Frizius's book from the Scottish into Latin and made some minor additions to Frizius's text. ('... & aliquid, fateor, addidi de meo.')—At any rate, the *Summum Bonum* must express Fludd's own views, since in the *Clavis* (p. 22) he undertook its defence, and it was certainly not published without his consent.

All this, however, does not mean that Fludd relegated the production of the material elixir to the realm of mere imagery or, at least, that he did so when he published the *Clavis* in 1633. In his *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum*¹⁵ he gives a lively description of an alchemical experiment with illustrations depicting furnace and still. He substantiates the non-allegoric character of this description by interesting factual details. The 'quinta essentia' which he thus produced was of so sweet and penetrating fragrance that, after touching it only once with his finger, he could perceive its delicious scent for two or three days¹⁶. He used this quinta essentia only once as a medicine,—'Fateor me non nisi semel balsamum hoc naturale in Medicinae praxi usurpasse' (*sic*)—when, used as an ointment, it delivered him at once and for ever of a painful and troublesome nervous irritation on the back of his hand¹⁷. It is worth noting that Fludd nowhere mentions his alchemical experiments as such. It seems also curious that Fludd, in his works, refers only to one alchemical experiment of his own and does so in passing, so that we do not know to what extent he was a practising alchemist. The result of this one experiment he simply calls 'quinta essentia', but not elixir. On the other hand he seems to have treated this 'quinta essentia' with much reverential awe, which fact is probably accounted for by his devout belief in the immanence therein of the Verbum Divinum. The secrecy generally observed by the alchemists may have been another motive for his reserve on the subject. But we may perhaps also infer that his 'quinta essentia' or some other preparation of his, when tried on metals or stones, did not prove to be effective. Indeed, on pp. 27 and 66 of the *Clavis*, Fludd says, the quinta essentia produced by 'chymia vulgaris' is so called, not because it actually is the ideal quintessence or the Philosophers' Stone ('Lapis ille verorum Chymicorum'), but because it represents such an approximation to the real quintessence, as our senses can share in. This is a very guarded statement and it seems to confirm that Fludd, while believing in the possibility of a more powerful material elixir, found the results of his own alchemical experiments to be of a limited, if admirable potency. The idea behind the first Latin motto of our manuscript's title page 'Latent adhuc Lillium et Rosa inter spinas' appears to coincide with this interpretation, if we take into account that Lily and Rose were often used as emblems of the red and white tincture of the Philosophers' Stone. (Cf. p. 121, ll. 21–2, of this paper.)

But this motto may also have reference to the Brotherhood of the Rosie Cross, because, in the *Summum Bonum* (pp. 48, 49), 4. Esdr. ii, 19 and Cant. ii, 1, where Lily and Rose are mentioned, are quoted as denoting the Rosicrucians' secret abode. A few remarks on Fludd's connexion with the Rosicrucian controversy, and especially on the question whether Fludd himself was a Rosicrucian, may, therefore, conclude these introductory notes.

¹⁵ Frankfurt 1623, p. 24 sqq.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.* p. 39, and also Fludd's *Integrum Morborum Mysterium*, Frankfurt 1631, where he refers to the earlier description of the experiment and partly repeats it.

¹⁷ *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum*, Frankfurt 1623, p. 39.

When *The Tillage of Light* appeared in 1623, the learned men of Europe were still surrounded by the agitated and sometimes acrimonious discussions which had been excited by the anonymous publications of the mysterious brotherhood in Germany¹⁸. The questionable existence of the Rosicrucian Order, their aims, merits and demerits, their habitat and their religion had become the subject of innumerable pamphlets and books¹⁹.

The most distinguished figures among the early defenders of the order were Robert Fludd and his German friend Michael Majer (1568–1622). Fludd published his *Apologia Compendiaria Fraternitatem de Rosea Cruce suspicionis maculis aspersam veritatis quasi Fluctibus abluens et abstergens* at Leyden in 1616. This small book is the first of all his publications. In the attached *Epilogus Authoris ad Fratres de Rosea Cruce* he informs the members of the order that he would be overjoyed to become the latest member of their society. This seems to prove that, in 1616, Fludd assumed the Rosicrucian Order to exist as a tangible organisation of living individuals, although, if we make allowance for the exaltation of his very figurative style, any statement of his, however concrete it may sound, may have a purely rhetorical meaning. The *Declaratio Brevis*, however, which Fludd about the same time addressed to to James I in vindication of the fraternity and of his own writings²⁰, 'ut omnis religionis innovandae imaginatio heresisue suspicio in exilium ejiciatur perpetuum', provides us with a more convincing proof of his early belief in the actual existence of the Rosicrucians, for, surely, no one would have sent such a declaration to the King in defence of mere allegories. In 1617 Fludd published his *Tractatus Apologeticus Integritatem Societatis de Rosea Cruce defendens* at Leyden. In the same year he dedicated his *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* to the Brothers of the Rosie Cross. In 1629 the author of the *Summum Bonum* (cf. footnote 14) in its IVth book undertook a new defence of the order, and the same theme was again resumed by Fludd in his *Clavis* of 1633. Thus, the Rosicrucian cause appears to have preoccupied him for the rest of his life.

It is generally assumed that it was Michael Majer who initiated Fludd into the Rosicrucian ideas²¹. Indeed their writings, many of which were published by the same German publisher (de Bry of Oppenheim), seem to prove that Majer and Fludd must have been close friends. Majer was like Fludd a physician, a mystic and an alchemist, which alone might account for their friendship. Majer's leanings, though, seem to have been more on the classical side than

¹⁸ Especially by the 'Allgemeine und General Reformation der gantzen weiten Welt' and the 'Fama Fraternitatis', both first printed at Cassel, 1614, and by the 'Chymische Hochzeit: Christiani Rosenkreuz. Anno 1459', Strasburg 1616.

¹⁹ *Bibliotheca Chemica*, by J. Ferguson, Glasgow 1906, vol. II, p. 288, *sqq.* contains a comprehensive bibliography and also an historical note on the subject. Cf. also A. Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie der Freimaurerischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1923, vol. ii, p. 926 *sqq.* and 1st supplement, p. 468 *sqq.*

²⁰ The *Declaratio Brevis* has not yet been published. The non-autograph manuscript is in the British Museum (Royall MSS. 12 C. ii).

Fludd's. All his works show an abundant knowledge of Greek and Roman mythology which, to him, appears to furnish allusions and references to the Hermetic mysteries as numerous as those with which the Bible and the cabalists provided Fludd ²².

We do not know when Majer and Fludd met or when they began to exchange ideas by correspondence. The general assumption is that Majer, at any rate, came to see Fludd in London, shortly before Fludd published his first book, the *Apologia Compendiaria*; in 1616 ²³. But it is not impossible that Fludd met Majer much earlier, either when, as a young man, he travelled in Germany or possibly during a previous visit of Majer to England. In fact, we know little more about the personal relations of the whole group of learned men who backed the Rosicrucian cause in the early 17th century—such as Majer, Fludd, Andreæ, Morsius and Sperber—than that they were in contact, and we can only presume that they could have met through the agency of some already existing secret alchemical or mystical society. The above-mentioned *Declaratio Brevis*, which Fludd addressed to James I, seems to prove that Fludd, even after Majer's visit, had no inside knowledge of the Rosicrucian Order. He only explains why he would like to know its members. '... tantum accensum est mihi ad hos homines qualitate et promissis eminentissimos cognoscendos desiderium'. The general reformation of Science promised by the order made him defend its cause. The letters of French and German friends, which Fludd appended to this Declaration, also do not convey the impression of having been written by members of the Order.

Nevertheless, Fludd and Majer are often referred to as eminent members of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. This, however, seems to be an unwarrantedly simple interpretation of the facts. The very existence of a Rosicrucian Fraternity connected with the anonymous publications of 1614 and 1616 (cf. footnote 18), on which all later speculations are founded, has remained doubtful to our day ²⁴. Besides, neither Majer nor Fludd—who were both men of integrity—ever professed in their works to be themselves members of the order. With regard to Fludd it must also be said here that his later opinions on the Rosicrucian Fraternity, as expressed in the *Summum Bonum* (1629) and the *Clavis* (1633), sound more carefully worded and very much nearer to

²¹ Cf. D.N.B., *loc. cit.*

²² For a bibliography of Majer's works, cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, vol. ii, p. 62 *sqq.*

²³ Cf. D.N.B., *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Most modern historians agree, and do so with good reason, that Johann Valentin Andreæ was not only the author of the original tracts, but also the sole originator of the whole idea.—It may also be recalled here, as a most valuable 17th century testimony, that the learned Belgian mystic François-Mercure van Helmont (1618–1699) told his friend Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) that, in his opinion, the Rosicrucian Fraternity had been a mystification. Helmont's mystical disposition would have made him only too inclined to accept the Rosicrucian legend at face value, if on his many travels he had but once found a trace of the order's existence. Cf. Th de Quincey, *Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons*, in de Quincey's works, Edinburgh 1871, vol. xvi, p. 403.

idealistic symbolism than the *Apologia* of 1616. In fact, these later works make it probable that Fludd no longer regarded the Fraternity as existing in the flesh, but rather as the Platonic ideal of what a community of wise and learned men should be. On the other hand these later works make it also probable that he believed in the 'real' existence of such a body, but did so exclusively in terms of spiritual effects and not in terms of human organisation. In particular, one passage in the *Summum Bonum*²⁵ seems to suggest this interpretation as the only possible one. There the author supposes himself to be asked by some reader whether he is a member of the order. The answer is: 'I, least of all, have ever deserved so great a grace of God. For I hold with the Apostle that this is not a matter of willing or striving, but of God having mercy. If it should have pleased Him so to will it, that will be enough'. In accordance with this statement it is even possible that Fludd, in his later years, conceived the group of his own learned friends, in whose campaign for the defence of the order he had joined, as an elected mundane nucleus on which the qualities of the ideal and celestial Rosicrucian Fraternity might gradually descend, but we have every reason to believe that, in his later years, he did not consider any existing human organisation to be the *Fraternitas Roseæ Crucis*, for whom and of whom he was writing.

Fludd's ideas on physics, on the 'material' existence of the alchemical Elixir and on the 'real' existence of the Rosicrucian Fraternity thus appear to have been of one characteristic pattern. They reveal him as an extreme idealist who assumes that the centre of all such reality as is relevant to the scientist's research lies outside the perception of our senses—and therefore also outside the sphere of experiment in the modern sense of the term. 'Experientia', to him, means inner experience, not experiment. The world of the senses as such is only 'umbra' and 'typus ænigmaticus'. But Fludd must nevertheless have remained a most curious and interested observer of the material world. This appears to have been possible, because he attributed to the extramundane centre of Reality an influence on the world of appearances so wide and so direct that he could assume the wise man might, by the grace of God, sufficiently share in the light of divine wisdom to study its laws and effects and to contribute consciously to the final transfiguration of all impure matter and all earth-bound humanity.

The text of *Truth's Golden Harrow* which occupies the subsequent pages of this paper will be found to be in harmony with these theories. In particular, it will demonstrate, how Fludd's own notion of mystical Reality allowed him to regard the Philosophers' Stone as a material phenomenon.

²⁵ Pp. 50, 51: 'Denique dicet procul dubio quis, unde est quod tu mentem illius fraternitatis tam bene intelligere praesumis, aut quonam modo es tu eorum arcanis ita instructus ut non solum ipsorum religionem et conditionem, verum etiam rationem, qua Roseae crucis fratres dictitantur, colligas? Quid? Anne tu ex Roseae crucis fraterculis unus?

Ad ultimam interrogationem dico, me minime tantam unquam a Deo meruisse gratiam, agnoscentem cum Apostolo, 'non est istud donum volentis aut currentis sed Dei Misericordientis'; si Deo placuisset voluisse, sat erit',

(TITLE PAGE AS ON P. 91.)

'To the Unpartiall Reader.

Gentle Reader,

If our late Tiller of light hath rudely passed over and but slightly performed the wayghty charge and important task which with so great a shew and demonstration of courage and sufficiency he did undergoe, in mine opinion, he is not alltogether to be condemned for insufficient, though on the other side not to be excused for his oversight and negligence in leaving behind him many irregular bauks of error unrectified and divers clodds of confusion unbrused and ill prepared. But his confession Pag: 32. hath in some sort mitigated that offence, wheare he aknowlegeth that his plow hath shortly gone over the large field of the philosophers Elixir. Now hast you knowe breeds wast: Festina lente sayeth the philosopher, and Lente lente et omnia bene. To passe over so great a field as that of the philosophicall Elixir with so slight and short a plowe toyle must eyther produce a very shallow tillage or cause a rugged and ill manured soyle.

Loe therefore I have imagined it a thinge most convenient, to provide a harrow framed out of philosophicall gold, to correct thos baukes and unlevelled pathes which the plowe hath made in this tillage, wherby the grownd may become more apt to receave the grayne of reality and truth, which before was only bestrewed with the appearing seeds of morality which are wondrously annoyed with the pricking thistells of contradiction and mingled with the unprofitable darnell of obscuritye. This I say, is all, and this all I freely recommend unto your wise and impartiall censure to be fully determined.

Farwell.

The preface: wherein the plowemans Tillage of light is abbreviated:

Our Husbandman seemeth to observe a kinde of method in his late tillage or fourrowinge up of the glorious field of the philosophicall Elixir: for after a dewe inquisition made in his proceedings we perceave that first he maketh the motive of this his task or labour a feeling charity or zeale which moveth him to commiserat the cases of unadvised men: next he expresth the subiect to be a diswasive exhortation from the inutill and expensive travaile about the making of an imaginary philosophers stone or reall Elixir: thirdly he proposeth a generall reason therof, namely for that it is an irreconciliable enmy unto true philosophy: which he presumeth to defend and mayntaine by six principall arguments as mayne pillors to propp up the whole frame of this attempt in the confutation of a materiall Elixir, whereof the on is grownded on the denomination of philosophy, the other drawne out of the observation of holy wright: the third relieth on the intention of the philosophers concerning the possibility of Art and Nature, which by severall proofs, derived from their offices eyther ioyntly or apart he seemeth to confirme: the fourth, isheving from his owne observations gathered as well by reading chemicall authours, as by conference

had with some sufficient professoures in the art : the fift from the invisible effects of Nihil so much thundred forth by the Alchimists, inferring this old Aristotelicall maxim for his cheef argument. Ex nihilo nihil fit : the sixt sheweth that the true Elixir is of a metaphysicall operation and therfore cannot be materiall : seaventhly that the straying of the philosophers work to an artificiall Elixir powerfull to multiply gold driveth all wit out of harmonye, which he seemeth to prove by thes two severall poynts following, namly by the true ayme of the philosophers, and then by the harmfull consequences of the multiplying of gold. Lastly for the better confutation or disanullment of a reall and materiall Elixir to multiply gold, he expresseth what the philosophers stone, in his conceypt, is, inferring that it should be rather some secret direction of morality ordayned for the better exaltation of the inward man after the modest rules of wisdom, then that it any way belonged or ayimed at a materiall or sensible act or operation : and to confirme this poynt, he alludeth the cheef matter of the Elixir, namly the philosophers Mercury unto wisdom the child of heaven, his preparation of powning, beating, or mixing of materials, unto the beating downe and qualifying of our affections in the mortar of a wise heart : the feeding it with more or less fier, is the timely pressing or relaxing of our corrupt will : the fixation of the volatill, unto the reduction of our unconstant running witts unto the sollidity of true wisdom. The coulours and especially the whit ioyned unto the red, which crowneth the worke, giveth us to understand that the perseverance in Vertue will gayne us the garland of victory over all forren encombrances, and subdue our unruly domestick affections, which unless they be overcome, powned, qualified, sublimed and fixed unto a pure syndonlike whit, ar ever redy to debord from the precincts of reason unto a soule killing liberty.

Loe this is the full method and progression of our husbandman in his tillage of light whose stepps we wilbe ready to trace at an inch, the better to make playne those rugged and ill manured iobbs which may else hinder the iust and pearcing vewe of well iudging and deserninge persons, with quick eye sight and sharpe understanding narrowly to looke into his proceedings. For all is not gold that glisters.

The first fourrow of our plowmans tillage, wherein is sown the cause or motive which incited him to undergoe this task of Tillage.

The somme of his Text : Pag: I.

It was the community of love and sympathy of affection which civill society challengeth of us, in tendringe the weale of others as our owne, that caused me to forestall by this my tillage the paynefull toyle and wastfull charges which I observe to have been and to be yet unprofitably employed in the search of an imaginary non Ens, only knowne by the name of the philosophers Elixir or stone, Artificiall gold or light incorporat by art,

The baukes and clodds which truths golden Harrow encountreth in this fourrow :

There is noe doubt but that Truths golden harrowe shall find all playne and smoth where perfect and unfayned zeale hath had a firm rootinge. Neyther is it accustomed to correct or bruse that grownd or soyle wheare honest intentions are sowed, but leaveth thos springes or snares untouched which are erected or layed for the discovery of the mayne errorrs and idle expences. But I feare that our husbandmans grayne of love and charity, which beareth so good an outward shewe in this fourrow, will prove at the upshot of his harvest, but unprofitable darnell which will at the last become the ofsprings of envy and the calumniatours of Truth. Experience teacheth us dayly that the woulf is often times masked and disguised with the skin of a lame, and malevolent Satan is not ignorant, when he list, to put on the visard of brightness: How many men are ther (I beseech you) who when they cannot obtayne unto what most they desire, doe at the last exclaime against that which they would so fayne have attained unto. It is sayed the fox will eate no grapes. There is noe greater hatred then that which isheweth out of fervent love and toasting affection, for practice instructeth us that a fair mistris hath noe greater a foe commonly then the late affectionat servant now disgracefully reiecte; so that he who was redy to dy for love whilst there was any hope, now finding his ancre hould quite lost, starteth up suddaynly out of the frozen laberinth of coy love, and now on the other side inflamed with the fire of disdayne and hatred imitateth the snake almost frozen to death with icy cold, who by the action of heat is now moved to choller and hissing contempt, so that from her late humility she is now rayse up aspiringly with the angry wings of contempt and spight.

Alas how many wooers hath this golden Elixir had, who by their best endeavours have laboured and toyled to purchass but a vewe of her bright countenance, and to enioy but the wayght of a grayne of mustard seed of her grace and perfection; all which perceaving them selves at the last, eyther neglected or else alltogether reiecte of her as being far unworthy of her favours, have turned ther cotes, and in lieu of her wonted commendations have contaminated her virgin purity and supernaturall symplicity with abominable lyes, marked her irreligiously in the forehead with the brands of disgrace and ignominy, proclayming her a sophisticated strumpet, a chimerian and imaginary non ens, a smoke without a substance, a voyd character of what is named but hath no essence affirminge therfore that she is not because she will not daygne to reveale her self but unto very few, and thos must prove worthy of her graces and favours. For such therfore and unto such was she sent downe from heaven, : with them she delighteth and dwelleth, a few she embraseth and howerly visiteth with comfort : a million she reiecteth as strangers, and therfore she casts before their sight a mist of darknes and errorr that she might not appeare unto them, but that they might have eyes and not see and so might

live in perpetuall darknes. Do not the scriptures teach us yet strayght and narrow is the path way to heaven and salvation, when contrarywise the tract which leadeth to destruction is passing wide and dayly beaten of most men. Non omnibus datur adire Corinth. All must not enter into the citty of the heavenly Jersusalem, for adulterours, whoremungers, drunkerds, murderers, [*In margin* : Revelat: c:] and such like must be contented to dwell without the walls in the vally of darknes.

To conclud I suspect that this our tiller of light will prove but a sophist-catour and one who after long sute hath been reiected and refused by this peareles Lady the philosophers Virgīn Elixir, who, because he hath been and yet continueth so blind that he could never purchasse with all his endeavours a sight of her bright presence, doth imagine that she is not be found in rerum natura, for it seemeth that he presumeth so far on his owne worth and merits that it should stand for a position allready graunted, that of necessity she must reveale her self unto him if ther wer any such thinge, wher as contrarywise the humble minded philosophers doe and will confesse that more mysteryes are hidden from the sence of man then the things ar which are revealed unto it. Plura latent quam patent : wherfore we should not rashly give our censures of the worthyest amongst all things esteeming it peremptorily therfore not to be because unknown and not discovered or apprehended by our shallow and weake capacitys.

But me thinks that our harrow, being redy to conclude the preparation of this fourrow, lighteth at the upshot on a certayne bauke of contradiction. For in this our husbandmans charitable affection towards poore distressed Alchemists, in being a feeling copartner in the miserable delapidation of their means and fortunes about an imaginary Elixir, he seemeth altogether to vary from the rules and precepts of thos philosophers doctrine which he so earnestly doth teach, for pag: 20: he sayth and alleageth that the philosophers by their so punctually setting down a seeming reall Elixir had a good intent, being (as he surmiseth) to exercise curious spirits least the should precipitat them selves upon more daungerous rocks of higher forbidden mysteryes, or become altogether idle, and his reason in that place is because Ocia dant Vitia. Idlenes is the mother of many vices. Now the philosophers knew that it was impossible to practice the making of the Elixir after their aenigmaticall and parabolicall doctrine without much expense and charge. Loe heare therfore into what a contradictory errorr he is fallen, in withdrawing of men from a buisines grownded on so excellent a consequence, as to eschewe vice and aspiring attempts, and that for the sparing and hazarding of the pelf or muck of this world, when perchance such as would spare the spending of on pound this way, namly in the practice in Alchimy would spend ten eyther in gaming or riotous pastimes with women, drunkerds, gamesterds and such like. Againe the ancient philosophers doe teach us that as poore men ought not to be employed in the busines of Alkemy ; so the wisest and playnest amonge them doe ingeniously

conclude that quicquid facis tolle manum a marsupio. What so ever thou doest (say they) put not thy hand into thy purse. For our art consisteth not in the multitude of expenses. But suppose that by the practice of this science men were brought unto poverty and necessity : our authour in his 11th page confesseth that such were the liues and conditions of the philosophers whos custume it was to contemne gold to the intent that by poverty they might with the greater facility attayne unto the wise mans summum bonum, which was the mayne butt at which they aymed. I wonder therfore why such extreame love of poore distressed Alchimists should move our Tiller of light to withdraw them from that, which the wiser philosopher (as he thinketh) invented of set purpose to keepe and withdrawe them from greater vices : Or why should he counsell men to preserve so warily their welth and estates which in his. 13. page. he so exclaymeth against saying O deceyptfull riches, how falsly are you called goods : riches and gold, I say, which the wise philosophers so contemned and reiected, as he himself doth infer in his. 11. page. Wherefore we may say unto him with the comick poet *Modo ais modo negas* : But now that truths Harrow hath thus prepared and made leuell the obscure clodds of errour, and rectified the irregular bauks of contradixion which it encountred within this first fourrow, it is ready pressed to enter into the examination of the seconde.

*The seconde Fourrow. Wherin the husbandman expresseth the cause
wherefore he did enterprise this Tillage of light.*

The some of his Text.

For this artificiaall gold, imaginary Elixir or Non Ens is a poysonable pill gilded with sophisticated curiosity, base covetousnes or encroching cunning, emulous, straungers and irreconciliable enimys unto philosophie. Pag: 1.

The Harrows encounters in this fourrow.

Exitus acta probat : If the philosophers stone such a masked, sophisticated, and prestigious a thing as he maketh it, then will it without all doubt by effect shew it self in his coulours as an open enemy unto philosophye.

I confess that the philosophers doe ioyntly agree that it is as venomous as a viper or adder in the working, and therefore we are warned to beware of the breath of it ²⁶, but like wise they all doe assure us that in the conclusion that is after the accomplishment of his confection it becometh a perfect medicine of lif, and the perfect aurum potabile which cures the leprousy and preseveth the body from diseases, yea and rectifieth the spirit of man, as hereafter it shalbe proved : wherefore if he meaneth that it is a poysonable pill in that sence I must with the philosophers yeld unto him.

²⁶ Cf. *Aurora Consurgens in Artis Auriferae etc.*, Basle 1593, cap. XI, p. 208 : ' Et sicut Basiliscus suo flatu & odoratu inficit animalia & homines : sic odor nostri corporis magnesiae, perficit argentum vivum ipsumque subito mutans de natura sua in naturam alienam '.

Also I must aknowledge with the philosophers that this pill is gilded over with sophisticated curiosity in the eyes of fooles and such as ar ignorant, but to the wise and understanding person it prooveth a true Elixir of Lif : wherupon Morienus sayeth. Wismen did not multiply the dispositions and confections of this magistery for any other cause but to instruct wismen in it, and altogether to blindfould such as ar fooles.

In like manner unto such as goe about to seek it illotis manibus (as they say) that is unprepared and with the filthy pretence of lucre and gold only, unto such persons it leaveth the title of basnes, and will not easily be found by such : but thos which zealously seeke after it and with a true intent, and by Gods blessing doth attayne unto it, shall easily perceave that gold is the meanest possession and the least to be esteemed of ten thousand other mysteryes which it bringeth with it, and this was the reason that the philosophers did vilepend or esteeme gold but little beeing that it was the unworthiest blossome of so divine and precious a plant.

Lastly where he sayeth that it is an emulous straunger and irreconciliable enemy unto philosophy, I would trust him a little if it wer but a chimera or non ens (as he telleth us) but it blasts his cunning to proove it, beeing that we have more authentick authours to confirme the reality of it, for we find that both philosophy and divinity doe accord in the essenciall existence of this summum bonum, this multiplying light, this cupido of nature, this cabalists Metatron or platonists universall soule of the world ²⁷, by which the effect of this creating word, Crescite & multiplicamini, is produced into act in every creature of what kind so ever.

To conclude I find this clod of darknes so gross that my Harrow must leave the finall preparation and discovery of it unto another place :

The third Fourrow. Wherin ar containned the .7. reasons or Arguments wherby our Tiller of Light prooveth the philosophers Elixir to be a straunger, and enemy unto philosophie.

The somme of his Text. wherein he expresseth his first reason.

His first reason is derived from the denomination of philosophie, which he sayeth is only extended unto the love of wisdom, which consisteth in the mouldinge of the actions of philosophers in a divine frame, and an innocent observance of humane society. Pag: 2.

²⁷ Cf. Fludd, *Monochordum Mundi*, Frankfurt 1622, p. 31 : " Cabalistae & Hebraeorum Sapientes numerum hunc 999 in litteris hebraicis intelligentiae fortissimi Metatron inveniri dicunt quem dixerunt facierum Principem, quia officium habet introducendi coram facie Domini eos, quos vult appellari, quem alii sumunt pro illa Platoniorum mundi Anima. Hic ergo Metatron seu Mundi Anima erat (secundum Sapientum traditionem) prima res creata : unde videtur mihi, ipsum fuisse illam Sapientiam de qua in Ecclesiastico dicitur cap. 1. Primo omnium creata est Sapientia, & intellectus prudentiae ab aeo." See also footnotes 35 and 36).

The Harrows encounter in this Fourrow :

By this therefore he seemeth to conclude that the Elixir is an enemy unto philosophy: But we reply. *Negatur argumentum*, for he must hear after know if he wil be capable, that this Elixir is the true temple of wisdom, the impregnable castell of Cupid that powerfull god of Love, the bewtious and bright city of the sages, the true patterne of the heavenly Jerusalem, the mark of perfection at which all imperfect spirits doe tend as to the port of their finall happines, the skale of Justice, the queller and extinguisher of vice, and the finall complement and exaltation of forme, and exact beeing. And therefore he that is not a true beleever and lover of this excellent master peece, is drowned in darknes and hath an iron gate before his eyes of understandinge: for this is the mirroir of truth, the cleare Thummim of the auncient Jews in whos centre dwelleth their bright Urim as a divine soule in an unpoluted a chaste and virginall body, the gold of God, the gold that is to be bought of Christ, the guider of mens actions, the house of wisdom propped up with .7. pillars²⁸. And to conclude, in steed of being an enemy to philosophy it is the greatest friend she hath for the onely Lady she serveth as the body doth the soule is wisdom, which is the summum bonum of the philosophers, and mayne subiect of philosophy who therefore hath her denomination from her love unto wisdom. Now the Elixir is the temple of wisdom, or the earthly sonne of the philosophers which is as well the tabernacle of the divine emanation as the heavenly. *Aperietur terra* (sayeth holy wright) & *pariet salvatorem*. The earth shall open and bringe forth a savioure. Light is in darknes and darknes doth not comprehend it. Of this, truths trumpet shall sounde forth with her golden blast in larger demonstrances heare after :

The 4th Fourrow. Wherin is containned the second reason to proove the philosophers stone a stranger or enemy unto philosophie.

The summe of his Text.

Because if we will looke back upon the glorious sunne of sacred writ, we shall find that in the beginnunge and succession of time wisdom was recommended to us by mysterys, parables, allegories and analogies. But that divine oracles or philosophicall moralls were applied unto any materiall Elixir, or that any curious search heare was any further allowed then might advance wisdom and be proffitable to humane society heare, we never finde warranted in divine or human records. Pag: 2. & .3.

Truths golden Harrows examination :

Pag: 18. He seemes to affirme that the concealement of knowledg was against the wise philosophers and Theosophers doctrine and yet nevertheless in this place he contradictorily doth intimat that they concealed the mystery of wisdom under the vayle of hieroglyphicks, parables, alligories and analogies: But to the poynt.

²⁸ Cf. Prov. ix, 1.

He seemeth to aver by this his reason, that the sayd mysticall and occult proceedings did not any way tuch a materiall Elixir : as not beeing warrented for such an effect eyther by divine or humane records. But his grownds are weake and therfore easy to be shaken. Wherefore we will cause our Harrow to open this clodd to the quick, the better to examin the truth of this ridle.

In holy scriptures we find this alligorie mentioned. The silver seurlly hath his vayne, and the gold his place wher they take it, Iron is taken out of the dust, and brass is moulten out of the stone : God putteth an end unto darknes and he tryeth the perfection of all things : He setteth a bounde unto darknes and the shadowe of death. Out of the same earth cometh bread [*In margin* : Job. 28.] and under it as it wer fire is turned up : the stones therof are a place of saphirs and the dust of it is Gould.

A more excellent description of the materiall Elixir cannot be made by the wisest Alchimist or deepest philosopher : for the Agent in this work shining out of darknes (which is the Earth) is the fire or centrall sonne, the pacient is the elementary substance appearing out of the sayd darknes and by purification and rotation of elements reduced unto a spirituall rock or pure transparent saphir, the effect is quick gold, the forme or divine soule is the light shining out of darknes, the matter is the Earth the intermediat spirit the rock of an azure or celestiaall couler which argueth the quintessentiaall spirit : againe, the body is the earth refined into the powder of lively gold, unto the which perfection all the earth shalbe reduced at the latter day, as by scriptures we ar warrented, wher we finde it spoeken of a new heaven and a new earth : and againe Ecce omnia nova sunt facta : Loe I make all things new. Ezekiel speaketh of a fire that ishedwed out of the dark cloud which came from the north, and out of the midst of the fire came as it wer the likeness of amber, and the similitude of the firmament was as Christall: Venit aurum ab aquilone : of such an apparition also speaketh the Revelation [*In margin* : Revelat. c. 4.] : So that we may decerne in the place before mentioned in Job as well the naturall of the generation of mettayles as that which is made supernaturall by the administration of art. ffor art is ordayned in this mystery to the intent that by the adaptation of kinds rightly, light might shine out of darknes by the violating of the bands therof which having liberty of action worketh on the deformed substance and leaveth not till it hath reduced it unto the hiest period or exaltation of act and plusquamperfection, for it leaveth not his operation untill it hath of duality made unity, so that as out of on fountayne of light two ishedwed and wer compounded namly matter and forme, so by progression into trinity, duality (the authour of discord) might againe be reduced unto unity. This is therfore the true type wherby we may be persuaded that by the saviour which ishedwed from the darke earth, by conquering of death and darknes, we shall also (as Job teacheth us) in this very body being by light first purified, have a compleate resurrection of body and soule unto eternity, for Christ sayeth : When I am exalted I will draw bodys unto me : and St.

Paule witnesseth so much speaking of Christ in thes words: Pacifying and accordinge by the blood of his cross all things as well on earth as in heaven: that is by the harmony of the word rising and being delivered from the hands of death and corruption by the vertue of his bright and vivifying divinity, through which all disagreeing antipathy is brought unto concord and unity. Was not this that spirituall rock which followed the Israellites, of which they did eate and drinke which (as St. Paule wittneseth) was Christ. Was it not the rock that Moyses strock with his rodd when he drew water out of it. Was it not that wisdom, which (as Salomon sayeth) is a brightnes ishewing from the eternall fountayne of light which surpasseth the sunne and starrs in brightnes? Is not this the light which true Christians ought to walk in? and yet dare any man be so blind as to calle this divine Elixir or summum bonum an imaginary non Ens, a fume or a Chimera? We can not deny but that Christ the authour of salvation (whos image and patterne this our mystery is) did rise both body and soule and so of two united together in perfection made one unity, transmuted darknes into light, mortality into imortality, and so made his passage from Unum which is the beginning unto bonum or felicity which is the end, and thes are both convertible and on only thing by the connexion and unity of on spirit which is all on with them both. What shall we therfore imagine him not to be because not materiall, or shall we deeme him not materiall because spirituall, when every forme doth impart a matter, be it corporiall or spirituall. Admit therfore that the Elixir be of a spirituall substance, excludes it therfore materiality, when corporality and spirituality vary not but in the refining and purifyinge, for quod est superius est sicut illud quod est inferius & vice versa: as Hermes sayeth, and St. Paul witnesseth [*In margin*: Ad. Hebr. 11.] Per fidem cognoscimus quod semper ita actum sit cum mundo per verbum Dei ut ex ijs quae videri non poterant fierent ea quae possunt videri. All things visible wer made of thos things which were invisible by the word of God. And St. Peter [*In margin*: 2. Pet: 3.] agreeth with them both in this poynt saying. The heavens and the earth wer of the water and by the water by the word of God: And Moyses sayeth the spirit of the lord moved upon the waters. Now it is certayne that this word and spirit of God is that first begotten wisdom the which dwelleth in the universall waters of this world as in the humide tabernacle of the created Nature: and consequently wher so ever the bright beame of wisdom appeareth manifestly, ther must the watry tabernacle be pure spirituall and virginall, the which nevertheles as it is fashioned of water of what degree of refination so ever must be materiall, and in respect of his perfection in maturity is rightly termed Elixir, as Thummim amongst the Hebrews signifyeth perfection in whose centre doth that supernaturall and plusquamperfect light Urim dwell as the forme of bright amber did in the bowells or midst of the fire which appeared unto Ezekiel [*In margin*: Ezek: c. 1.] out of the clowd: We must therfore on thes grownds conclud that if all the mysteries, parables and oracles of holy writ be alluded unto such a wisdom as is

the spirituall rock, above mentioned, which is Christ risen againe, composed of a divine spirit and a spirituall body, of which the true philosophers Elixir is sayd to be the type or patterne, we must not nor cannot iustly affirme that this divine and spirituall stone can be excluded from materiality, for as much as it consists of a divine and plusquamperfect spirit and a body exalted from corporiety unto a pure and spirituall existence, from mortality unto immortality, and being the patterne of Christ risen again, it must needs have the power to multiply infinitely : according unto that saying of Christ : before mentioned. When I am exalted I will draw all bodys unto me : Neyther let it seeme straunge unto any man that such power is given to this light, being that it is a branch of the universall emanation from the fountayne of light which was (as Salomon witnesseth) [*In margin* : Sap:] present with God when he made all things : and therupon Orpheus, Democritus and many of the pythagoreans did imagine that all things were full of gods, to each particular of which they observe severall venerations, prayers and sacrifices, and yet nevertheless such was their respect unto the fountayne of all thes petty lights that they had ever more their mayne relation unto one monache or sole Jupiter. By the same reason also the platonists did aknowledge a peculiar soule or beame of light to be in every particular and individuall creature, but the universall soule of the world was the head and fountayne unto which they referred all thos singular lights as all the beames of heavenly light are ishewing and belonging unto on Apollo, one sunne : Doe not thes their opinions iump and meet in one poynt with this assertion of holy scriptures. spiritus Dei incorruptibilis est in omni re. Gods incorruptible spirit is in every thinge. And in an other place. By the word all things wer made and without it nothing was made : In it was life & caet. [*In margin* : Sap: 12, Joh. 1]. This wisdom or first created nature (as in Ecclesiasticus c. I. we finde it wrighten) seemes to be that invisible fire of Zoroaster and Heraclitus of which all things wer begotten : and it is sayed to be the spirit of the Lord which was carried on the face of the waters, which unto them was in steed of the soule unto a body, and this fiery spirit St. Austine calleth amorem igneum, the fiery love which did impart a vivifying and vegetating vigour and force unto the generall waters or spirit of the world, being that without naturall heat noe generation or procreation could be had in rerum natura : ffor God when he sayed in the creation—Crescite & multiplicamini. Increase and multiply, did inspire into every creature a certayne germinating and vegetatinge spirit or viridity by which all things did multiply and increase their kinds, : and this multiplying spirit was bestowed as well on mineralls as eyther animalls and vegetables as shall hereafter be demonstrated.

But our tilling Authour noe doubt will reply (as all ready he hath intimated in his discourse) that it is a straunge thing that divinity or spirituality should be ioyned with corporality or materiality, that the Deity should be included in darknes, that the bright essence of sanctity should be enthrauled with the dark elementary bands of matter, or that ther should be any need of mans

art or helpe to release it from his dark hould. For an answeare I say that verely if that had not been we had not been, neyther should we have had any farther hope of resurrection. But in the first place I will referre you unto the sense of the 17. Hymne of the reverent Bushop Synesius²⁹ who speaketh thus. Now the divine Mens (quoth he) or bright soule and mentall beame hath only a respect unto the intellectuall world, and from this her disposition the soule and reasonable spirit of man is derived: But this mental beame, being the ofspring from immortall and divine parents gliding downe into the dark hyle or chaos, very smal in substance, and yet neverthesse being all and on and every wher dispersed in the world; turneth about by her power and vertue the vast and wide cavity of the heavens, and preserveth them from ruin and corruption by her presence, for she is every wher present by changing and fashioning her self into divers formes, for part of her is employed to give motion and lif unto the starrs, part instituteth the order of the angells and againe part doth indue an elementary and earthly shape which doth reciprocally embrace with a greevous tye or knot, in so much that she beeing seperated from her immortall parents she sucketh in dark oblivion, and so forgetting her self she admireth the displeasing earth, respects it with a blind solicitude and care, and by that means is prone to affect corporall things, and to incline it self unto human affaires. But it is manifest that thos spirits which are thus descended and included, have in them a vertue which is able to calle them back againe unto heaven, so that after by vertue of it they have escaped the troublesome waves of this lif and goe into that holy passage which directeth unto their kingly parents: Happy is he which eschewing the devowring iaws of hyla ishweth out of darknes, and with a light skip directeth his course unto God. Happy is he who after death, after labours and bitter cares of the earth, by entring into the ways of the mentall beame, doth se the altitude of things shining and glittering with divine light. Thus far passeth this bushops discourse wherin he seemeth to admonish us by the type of this supernatural progression in creation, of the descent and finall resurrection not only of man, but of all other creatures what so ever in which this perfection of originall light is sowed. Did not St. Paule make the grayne of wheat his patterne of resurrection unto the heaven of perfection or highest effect of multiplication: Now this beame or bright spirit of light doth inhabit this grayne or else it could not have rise againe, neyther could that spark have been set at liberty but by the adaptation of the husbandman, and the effect of an externall nature working of the composition unto putrefaction that by that means the bands of the elements being so violated, the included spark of light might be set at liberty and consequently might have the better scope to work after his appetit which tendeth to a perfection which is lik it self. By this therfore it appeareth that

²⁹ There are only ten hymns ascribed to Synesius of Cyrene, bishop of Ptolemais (360 ?-415 ? A.D.). Hymn No. III is possibly the one Fludd had in mind here. See *Synesii Episcopi Ptolemaidis Hymni*, Turnoni, 1603.

ther is a materiall substance which belongeth unto this infuse spark of wisdom. The foresayd reverend father therefore in his treatise of the philosophers stone doth express his opinion tuching the matter of the philosophers stone in thes termes followinge. Know my deare sonne sayeth he that the ignorant cannot comprehend the secret of this art, for as much as it dependeth on a matter that is hid from him ³⁰. By which he seemeth to averre that the elixir both realy is, and that his existence is materiall.

Again by Holy writ we are warrented that the essence of God, which filleth every thinge in heaven and in earth (for the wise man sayeth, The spirit of the lord filleth the earth, and the kingly prophet alleageth that God is every wheare, in heaven, in hell, in the extremity of the sea, in night and in darknes) [*In margin*: Sap. 1. Psal. 139.7] is attired in a naturall or materiall vestiment or mantle, it is evidently confirmed by sacred testimony, for in the highest heaven he is indued (as royall David sayeth) with light as with a vestiment, [*In margin*: Psal: 104.2], and in this light doth he dwell centrally: then in the midle heaven he is sayed to have planted his tabernacle in the sunne, from whence he liberally dispearceh every wher his multiplying graces: moreover in the elementary heaven he made the dark cloudes his dwelling place. Densa nubes tigurium eius [*In margin*: Psal:]. In the lively earth of man he erected his spirituall temple. Vos estis templum Dei. Ye ar the temple of the holy Goste. And it is sayed Terra pariet salvatorem: the earth shall bringe forth a Saviour. To conclud his incorruptible spirit is in every thing (as Salomon witnesseth [*In margin*: Sap. 12.1] in the place above mentioned). All which beeing thus manifestly confirmed by holy scriptures why should we make any doubt much less to denye, that the spirit of wisdom (which is the spirit and word of God) is housed in visible and materiall creatures, and consequently why should it not be the soule and multiplying lif of the exalted matter of the Elixir, being that wher this bright spirit findeth a matter aptly disposed, and dignified in the highest degree accordinge to the nobility of her divine forme and essence. it will have dominion over darknes and shine forth as it doth out of the pure body of the heavenly sunne, and bestowe her graces out of the little world heare on earth amongst men, as it doth out of the sunne of heaven in the great world. This is the meaning of Plato by this maxim of his According unto the merit of matter (quoth he) a more or less perfect forme is given or bestowed on it from above: God is called of holy writ a consuming fire, and we se that this fier is multiplicative in infinitum, by reason of that fiery spirits act within it, and yet we find that the flame doth differ according to the purity of the matter: for the fier of earth coles differ from that of wood and that againe from that of the candle, and that of candle from that of

³⁰ This quotation will be found in *The True Book Of the Learned Synesius a Greek Abbot*, London 1678, p. 165. The identity of the author is doubtful. Cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Glasgow 1906, vol. ii, p. 420 and vol. i, p. 47. The first edition of the treatise is contained in P. Arnauld, *Trois Traictez de la Philosophie Naturelle*, Paris 1612.

Terpentine and that againe from brimstone, and all thes from that which in the spirit of wine which by reason of his purity, (for that the purity of the spirituall matter approacheth nearest to the simplicity of originall forme hurteth not nor is observed to be destructive, but never the less it multiplyeth infinitely if it have matter well prepared to worke on. We infer therefore upon thes grownds that it is a poore consequence and of little effect, namly that because the philosophers hieroglyphicks and the Theosophists mysterys and parables did principally point at wisdom, therefore theie should not respect any materiall Elixir : As who should say because the holy Bible did ayme at god, therefore they respected not the fiery bush out of which he appeared, to Moyses, nor the pillar of clowd and fier in which and by which he guided the Isrealits in the wildernes : nor the consuming fier which was, took the denomination of God. nor the sunne in which God did place his tabernacle : nor the stone of Jacob in which God did dwell, nor the whit stone in which was wrighten a straung name that none could read [*In margin*: Apoc: 3.], but he that had it : the celestiall Jerusalem in which the lame did dwell : &c. And in a word because Jehova was the guider of the Israelits in the wildernes, therefore he did not make use of materiall instruments, as a pillar of clowd and fier, for in that pillar it is wrighten that Jehova : or the angell in which his great name was wrighten, did serve as a bright soule unto a spirituall, but materiall body. Wherby it is evident that though wisdom be the mark that Philosophers and Theosophist doe ayme at, yet they consider her as she is in a created nature as well subiect to the sence as invisible, and consequently materiall, for to speak of God and his spirit as it is without all things and within nothing, it wer a great follie in man being that mans witt could never decerne him a priory but by the effects of his dearest creaturs. Though Moyses saw his posterious yet did he never behould his essentiall face or being : wherfore the Cabalists confess him to have attained unto the 49th gate of intelligence, but unto the 50th his human composition could never attayne unto ; and David knew him by a vision of his glorious light, and therefore sayed, Deus vestitur lumine quasi vestimento. but to see him as he is, flesh and blood is not able. Thus have we our proofs of a materiall Elixir of perfection out of holy writ. Let us now se how the sage Cabalists do agree with this doctrine of the sacre Bible : Let us heare (I say) what their opinion is of this first created light ; which Moyses termed the word Fiat or the Spirit of the lord which walked on the waters by which all things wer mad. And St. Peter affirmeth [*In margin*: 2. Pet: 3.] that heaven and earth wer made of waters and by waters by the word of God, wher he maketh waters the matter, or pacient and the bright worde the forme or agent which accomplished and brought to perfection the world consisting of heaven and earth. And Moyses sayd in the like sence, The spirit of the Lord moved on the waters. And St. Austine sayeth that the fiery Love gave a vivifying and multiplying vigour unto them, And Aristotle aknowledged a primary forme which he called the first Act which did universaly informe all matter. And Plato

calleth it the soule of the world which he measured by .999. for three times .9. amounting unto .27. maketh the cube of the root. 3. which is the most perfectest number and therfore attributed unto the soule or first act in every creature.³¹ as .2. which is the number of confusion (as Pythagoras sayeth) is the roote of matter whos square is .4. and therfore his root ³² is 8 : This .999. of Plato by the addition of the Cabalists Aleph which signifyeth .1. in Arithmetick maketh up .10000. ³³ beyound the which ther is noe denomination : and therfore as Aleph was one . and consequently the begining so also is it that on which is the end of all things. I come therfore to the Cabalists opinion tuchinge this first essence or emanatiōn, wherby our authour may know that Theosophists of each kind doe aver the reality and materiality of wisdomes dwelling place in this world.

Of the Cabalists therfore Rabi Bahir sayeth. Nihil est principium nisi sapientia. There is noe beginning but wisdom.³⁴ the which being contracted in the abyss of darknes (according to that saying of Mercurius Trismegistus. Monas generat monadem, et in se ipsum reflexit ardorem suum) remayned as it wer vacant ot without action, or, as others say, haveinge a respect unto nothings, and therfore is called of the Hebrews אֵין Ein, that is Nihil. or non ens, and non finis, for so much as we are so sterill in our apprehension and poore and impotent in our capacityes and observations of divine objects, that we iudg of thos things which appeare not, as if they wer not at all : But when they shew forth them selves and appeare to be some thinge and that in very deed they have a subsistence, then the Cabalists doe say that dark or obscure Aleph is converted into bright and shining Aleph, which Aleph eyther way taken is ment and understood for God : so that litle Aleph (as it is the first letter of the Hebrews, is taken for one, or the beginninge arguing therby God in him self that is not shining out of darknes but reflecting the brightnes of his essence in him self, according unto the wismans speech above mentioned, and as God is considered after this manner he is sayd to be Deus latens : againe on on the other sid as he is Aleph lucidum, or bright and shineinge Aleph, then is he termed also of the Cabalists great Aleph which in their Cabalisticall Arithmetick doth import a .1000. beyound which number (as we have sayed before) ther is noe denomination in Arithmetick. so that by this his shining forth the world was proportioned and limited, so that as dark Aleph was Deus latens, and principium, so also is light Aleph Deus patens & rerum omnium finis & perfectio so that in effect they are all on as shall be shewed hereafter : Now when that Aleph or

³¹ Cf. Platon, *Timaeus*, 35, 36 ; also Fludd, *Monochordum Mundi*, Frankfurt 1622, p. 31, partly quoted in footnote 27.

³² Obviously miswritten for "cube".

³³ Obvious mistake ; the number should be 1000. Cf. Agrippa ab Nettesheym, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Cologne 1533, lib. II, cap XIX, De notis Hebraeorum & Chaldaeorum & quibusdam aliis Magorum notis.

³⁴ Cf. G. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir*, Leipzig 1923, § 32 : "Der Anfang der Weisheit ist : erwirb Weisheit, und mit all Deinem Besitz erwirb Einsicht" ;

God hath shined out of darknes they calle him Beth. which is the second Hebrew letter which added unto Aleph make Ab. which is as much to say as pater, father, which hath a reference unto a sonne. So that אב importeth the father of all generations: wher Aleph is the hieroglyphick of the father and Beth of the sonne springing from the father by a divine emanation: and this is esteemed among the Cabalists for the first deduction in divinity and the beginninge of all alteration, the which Moyses calleth Berisheth, that is principium, the beginninge which is the immediat emanation or shining forth of light from infinity, which is the second Cabaliticall numeration called Hochma, or sapientia over which the benevolent name of God יהי. Jah is predominant, by which all things were made. ffor א. or the Hebrew letter Jod among the Cabalisticall arithmeticians doth signifie the number .10. as Aleph noteth. On . or unity so that we se that the figure of on in Arithmetick importeth but only it self, but when it is ioyned with the first composition in Arithmetick, which is in the Articles that is with a ciphre it importeth .10: the which coniunction is a playne patterne of the emanation of light out of darknes, that is out of the archetypicall world unknowne unto us into the typicall world which we esteeme for some thing as subiect unto our sence: ffor as we se in this arithmeticall article .10. the ciphre is of noe vallew and playne nothing in esteeme, without the .1. which is the fountayne of number, so also the dark abyss or deformed hyla or chaos is Nothing except that the light or emanation from the fountayne of al forme had made it appeare by giving it a forme of waters. So that by Jod the whole emanation of light into darknes is mentioned, which containeth in it self (as the Cabalists have observed) the whole proportion of the great name Tetragrammaton or Jehova comprehended in thes 4. letters. Jod. He. Vau and He: so that Jod alone signifyeth the immediat act of emanation. He. argueth the watry spirit or spiritual substance of the angelical heaven. which was informed by Jod. or the first light, so that it is represented by Jah: whos numeration is Hochma or sapientia or wisdom which is termed the first creature. which was, and is the lif of all creatures, and heare upon we find it wrighten Thou hast made or created all things in thy wisdom: the which wisdom or first effluxion or emanation from the fountayne of light the theologians which have been most conversant in the mysterys of Caball have termed the most strong and mighty angell Metatron ³⁵, which the Platonist

³⁵ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, Frankfurt 1629, p. 25, also pp. 75, 76: “(Deus) paterno suo amore emittit angelum magnum Mittatron qui vim habens in primum mobile pro voluntate sua circumrotat illum Orbem ab Ortū in Occasum, & ad eius nutum caeteri etiam Orbes coelestes eodem motu raptō moventur. Atque hinc est, quod a Rabbi Mose hic angelus Praefectus universitatis dicitur; utpote a quo, cum sit primus motor, omnes virtutes singulares descendunt atque consequenter omnis virtus Angelica descendit. . . . Quare (Mittatron) ut Christus seu sapientia dicitur omnia implere & omnia in omnibus operare: Sic hic angelus est caput et Princeps omnium inferiorum Angelorum et Virtutum in hoc mundo.” See also Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae & Alchymiae Fluddanae*, Frankfurt 1633, p. 18, and footnote 27 above.

do take to be the soule of the world : And they affirme constantly that this intelligence was the first thing created which did comprehend in it self the perfection of all other creatures what so ever, which also is confirmed by that place of scriptures before mentioned [*In margin* : Ecclesiastic: c. 1.]. Prior omnium creata est sapientia. Wisdome was first created before all things. The wisemen also doe affirme that as the mentall beame hath dominion over the spirit of man, even so doth this Metatatron rule and governe the spirit of the world, whos centrall and inward agent they make to be the Messias or mentall and increated emanation proceeding immediatly from unity which is the Cabalists Ensoph or infinity. For this angell is deemed to be he that conducted the Israelits in the Desart in whom was wrighten the name of Jehova, that is whos inward centre was the increated word : the first emanation which when it was first mixed with deformed matter toke the denomination of the first creature : And this Angell Metatatron is reported by Archangelus the Cabalist ³⁶ to be the angell Michel which is sayd to be the angell or intelligence that hath dominion over the globe of the sunne ; whome the Cabalists agreeing heare in with holy writ make and esteeme to be the patron and champion of soules ; and the Rabi Tadaeus Levi affirmeth that he is the ruler of the Easterly quarter or angle of the world namly wher the sonne riseth, and is the cheef gouvner of the winds which isshew from that poynt. And it should appeare that this was that bright angell which the Apocalips [*In margin* : Apoc. 1.] doe specify to be seated in the middle of the .7. candlesticks, whos eyes wer a flame of fire and whose feet wer as brass burninge in a furnas, and whos face shined like the sunne in his strength : In his right hand he held the .7. starrs : wherby he argueth that his dominion was over the sunne which is the middle planet and sole lord over the rest as the centre is the imperial poynt in the circle ; for they as vassals receive from him their light and vertue as the circumference receaveth his semidiameter beames of essence from the centre ; and so consequently that he should be the supreme lord over all the .7. planets or erratick starrs, which is also signified by his beinge seated in the middle of the .7. candlesticks : It should seeme also that this was he who came up from the east and had the seale of the living God, and commanded the .4. angells which had the dominion over the .4. corners of the world and had power to hurt the creatures of the earth and

³⁶ Archangelus de Burgonovo. He wrote *Apologia pro defensione doctrinae Cabalae contra Petrum Garziam*, Bologna 1564, and *Interpretationes in selectiores Cabalistarum dogmata*, Venice 1569. The latter treatise is also to be found in Joannes Pistorius's collection of cabalistic authors *Artis Cabalisticæ etc.*, Basle 1587. Fludd seems to have used Pistorius's edition, as the same volume contains also a treatise by Leo Hebraeus, from which he quotes (p. 135. n. 51).—The passage Fludd is referring to here will be found on p. 737 of Pistorius's collection : “. . . ut in Daniele legimus : Michael princeps magnus, qui stat pro filiis populi tui : id est pro electis : fungitur itaque Michael perpetuo sacerdotio tamquam magnus Dei sacerdos : unde secretiores theologi vocant ipsum cofhen gadol id est sacerdotem magnum : nam sicut ille sacerdos magnus offerebat (ut dixi) animalium animas : ita Michael sacerdos offert Deo animas rationales.” And p. 738 *ibid.* : “Iste Michael dicitur a Cabalistic Mittatron.”

sea [*In margin* : Apoc : 7.] ; that they should not hurt the sea nor the earth till he had sealed the servants of God in their foreheads : wherby it may appeare that this should be the supreme spirit or anima mundi and soule of the world, being that he is so peremptory a commander not only of the spirituall rulers of the elements, but also of thos which are the presidents of the 6. planets which are subiect unto the sunne, which is the frank and liberall giver of lif and multiplication unto every thing as well unto the moon and stars in heaven above as to the earth and seas beneath :—And this is the reason that Archangelus in his Cablisticall discourse maketh the angell Michell the helper of Gods people, as also agreeing with that place in the Apocalips, he maketh him the only champion for soules against the old serpent, affirming that he offered up soules dayly as sacrifices unto God, for the Cabalisticall theosophists make him the spirituall high preest unto whos charge the redemption of soules is committed : And they also doe ioyntly conclud that this angell is called otherwise by the name Metatron (as we have sayed) by which they seeme to understand with the Platonists the universall soule of the world whos inward light or mentale beame is the true sapience or the immediat light or emanation of the increated brightness from the father and fountayne of light : who placed his tabernacle in the sunne, and by reason of his dominion over the sunne and his residence in the centre therof, that bright sphaere giveth lif, multiplication, generation and vivification to every creature (as is sayd) both in heaven and earth. This is the reason which moved the Platonists and other wise men to calle the orbe in which the sunne moveth, the sphaere of equality and the sphere of the soule, and they calle the spirit therof the anima media mundi : the middle soule or spirit of the world. This is it that the Cabalists doe confirme in concenting and averring that the spirit of wisdom doth vivify the body of the sunne, according to this saying of the poet. Spiritus intus alit &c. and then from the pure vessel of the sunne this divine vertue doth rayne downe upon the earth and seas most plentifully the spirituall influences of propagation and multiplication into the elements and from thence on animalls. vegetables and mineralls : Neyther is the centrall light of this divine wisdom absent from thos influences which distill downe in this manner every minut (for she is never idle but ever in action) for it is enveloped and bewrapped in the pure and tender invisible spirit of quintessence, which is his materiall or passive vehicle : and it is by vertue of this infinite and plusquam perfect spirit, that true Alkimists doe multiply infinitely, and it is he the succession of this spirit and his addition unto his like, drawne out of darknes by cunning Artists, that a multiplying Elixir is visibly produced ; as invisible aer by addition and multiplication is made a visible clowd ; which Elixir in effect is nothinge else but a fixed magneticall fier which dayiy by the adaptation of art doth draw unto it the nature of thos hidden influences made rich with the sparks of bright wisdom, which lurk every wher in the vast ayer and in dense bodyes, by the which our Elixir is nourished, as it wer with meat and drink, or milk, even as the lif and spirit of man is fed and

nourrished by the aer for *Natura natura laetatur, Natura naturam iuvat* : nature delighteth and reioyceth and helpeth nature : for like is evermore the perfect friend and assistant unto his like. This wisdome therfore is the lif of every thinge :

Now if you would know how this wisdome rayseth and exalteth every thing eyther by resurrection after death and corruption, or by transfiguration in this lif : know that the mayne ayme of every creature is the perfection of that begininge from which it first did springe and that is effected thus. namely by advancing forwards by gentle degrees towards the mark of bliss or felicity : which is not improperly defined by *Picus Mirandulanus* to be the retourning back of every thinge unto his first begininge which is that *summum bonum*, so much mentioned and desired of the philosophers, and after which every materiall creature be it animall, vegetable or minerall, with the highest reach of theire aspiring appetites doehowerly long after with as great an inward affection as the poets did ascribe unto the ever thirsty and hungry *Tantalus* ever desiring but never fully satisfied untill the end. But that begininge which every thing so longeth after is the final end of all things. and this begininge and end of every thinge is God which is *Alpha* and *Omega* the first and the last : ffrom perfection or unity we come unto imperfection which is duality and from thence by death and putrefaction we must passe unto trinity which uniteth us againe, after the example of divinity, unto unity from whence we came, and therfore from *Unum*, which is God we enter into the obscure puddle or *nihil* of this world and so mingle our formal light, given us from God, with dark and cloudy matter, and so of on nature we become two, then our bright spirits, not forgettfull of their originall felicity which they had with unity, with all endeavour and appetit seek to be free from the puddle of duality or binary confusion that they migh attayne unto the *summum bonum* from which they wer derived at the first : after the example of the saviour of all the world who ished from unity the father of all things because his father which was the authour of all, and after he had passed the pikes of death retourned againe unto that *summum bonum* which he was first before all begininge. I would have therfore each truly understanding person to know that nothing is truely in this universe but only that light of truth which maketh every thinge to appeare such as it is unto our vew, which of it self is nothinge but darknes, and *Nihil*. or as it wer a shadow without a substance, so that when this light hath put of this dark vestiment of creation it will retourne to the fountayne of light from whence it came :—This is therfore that pure spirit which was breathed not only in the face of *Adam* wherby he was made a livinge creature, but also into all other things indued with lif (as in *Genesis* we are taught :) yea and it is this spirit which giveth perfection and essence unto every creature ffor *Salomon* witnesseth that this incorruptible spirit is in all things, and consequently it is the inciter of their appetits to aspire unto such perfection as she is of which is the cause of such corruption and generation, and finally such howerly alterations in this elementary region, with a hope still to attayne unto that wished

perfection of primary felicity, from wher this incorruptible spirit did first descend : We conclude therefore that as unity is the beginning of things so Bonum or goodnes is the final end or goale wheather they tende, which is the sabooth or rest of soules, and the full mark of felicity. And for this reason doth Pythagoras mak thes two termes Unum and Bonum all on in effect and essence : Heare upon we inferre that if our spirit be originally derived from the bright spirit of wisdom which was the beginnunge of all things, it shall at the last, after a confused journey retourne unto that spirituall light by resurection from death and putrefaction unto the highest perfection : And according unto the hastning of the appetit of thos pure spirits in which this beame of wisdom doth dwell and inhabit on the earth, unto a desired period or wished mark, which is the Summum bonum (which beames more or less according unto the quantity of this incorruptible light which aboundeth (as Philosophers confess) more in on thinge then in an other) : this mystery is to be obtayned sooner or slower : and therefore it is evident that arte is in this action to be required to help nature in her fervent endeavours, by seperating the gross from the subtill, that the inward beame may be made the more free to work thes her intentions unto which her inward principle doth every minute incit her : and by adapting this grayne with her purified vehicle in a place of a more maturative and ripning disposition ; for the ayers crudity and coldnes doeth hinder the maturing intention of nature. for we find that citrin trees beare frut in Italy which in England will scarsly prosper by reason of the coldnes of the climat : neyther would corne multiply of it self if by Art the grownd wer not manured by the plowmans skill :

We may observe by this which is before rehearsed that ther is required unto the elixirs perfection matter and forme. the matter is the passive or materiall substance which serveth in steed of a vehicle to carry and possess the forme : But as the purer the forme is, so also it requireth a more pure substance or matter o work upon, so is it most aptly to be conceived that the most perfect and highest ormall light doth require a spirit to dwell in lik him self : And therefore as the externall beame of gold is made conformable unto the fixe and purified matter in which it doth dwell, and therefore doth aspire but unto the common perfection allotted to gold in his creation, so if the subtill materiall spirit which dwelleth in that grosser fixe matter could be had, in it shall we find that excellent formall light in his greatest activity which will, being thus at liberty and in a spirit obedient unto his will, work of it self without any other manuell application, the spirit which includeth it unto the plusquamperfection of it self and so causeth a resurrection, after that the passive spirit is made al on with his agent, so that this matter wilbe transmuted into the nature of incorruptibility and immortality, the which is able to rayse up other bodys by exaltation :—Accordinge unto that saying, when I am exalted I draw all bodys unto me.

But will you yet in a more succinct file of speech understand what this spirituall vehicle, of the mentall beame, or this materiall temple of the incorruptible spirit of wisdom is which both Theologie and Philosophie doe so often

mention in their discourses. Listen a while and I will first describe unto you this house of wisdom, and then afterward I will shew you briefly what wisdom it self is: wherby yee may with a better understanding perceave, wheather this Elixir have not as well a materiall being as a formall, and consequently wheather: Holy writ and philosophicall discourses have not by their hieroglyphick, parables and allegory aymed at a materiall Elixir or reale and sensible perfection: The Externall elixir therefore we define to be a spirituall body made worthy by the action of nature and the assistance of Art to receive so excellent and supernaturall a shape or formal light, as the spark or beame of wisdom is: And this exalted body is the trew patterne of the perfect and spiritualised body of Adame in his innocency, in which noe darknes was to be found but absolut simplicity in matter: even such a substance as we expect to have when we shalbe entred into the gate of felicity. It is therefore the christall pallas of fiery Cupid or divine wisdom which is built on .7. pillers as Salomon teacheth³⁷ us: the enchanted castell of light and perfection into which we must find an entrance if we would walk in the pathways of light: According unto that of the prophet. Ambulamur in luce Jehovae & the kingly Psalmist sayeth. Lux in tenebris Justorum micabit, Light will shine in the darknes of the iust [*In margin*: Jsai: 2.4. Psal: III.]. It is the fiery bush of Moyses and Esdras out of which God did speak unto them: not permitting them to approach unto it untill they had put of their shoes saying that the trod on hallowed grownd: meaning that they should purifie them selves: It was the fire of Ezekiel [*In margin*: Ezek: 1.] which ished out of the dark clowd, in whose midle appeared the likenes of amber. It is the caelestiall Jerusalem whos wales ar mad of precious stones, and whos gates ar .12. in number, in the which gloriouse citty the bright lame is sayed to dwell and give a greater light then eyther sunne or moone or starrs: after the patterne wherof the Epod of Aaron besett with twelve precious gemms resembling the .12. gates of the celestial Jerusalem in the middst of which are Urim and Thummim or light and perfection wer placed, resemblinge the lame and his brightnes in the middst of the sayd citty. And unto this mystery hath Ripply chimically alluded his .12. gates. and Scala philosophorum the .12. stepps of his ladder which is an image of that of the patriark Jacob: It is the centrall sunne in which the divine spirit of wisdom hath putt his tabernacle: It is the spirituall bible closed with .7. seales or claspes which being once opened incorruptible light will presently shine forth: And to this the true Alchimists allude the .7. days work of creation, the period of which is the saboth or day of rest, the sunns day: also their .7. imbibitions, or .7. distillations: to this also have the .7. pillers of the house of wisdom, above mentioned, their relation. It is therefore the mysticall book of the law which being closed and locked up bringeth death, but being opened it proferreth lif unto us. Litera interficit, spiritus vivificat, sayeth St. Paule, the letter killeth but the spirit vivifieth: and Moyses sayd

³⁷ Cf. Prov. ix, 1.

unto the people in the delivery of the tables in which the law was written. I calle God to wittnes that this day I have proposed lif and death unto you, *chose that you may live*. This book therfore at the first was a transparent and spirituall stone as framed and graven with the finger of God, but through the rebellious, idolatrous and stiffnecked disposition of the Israelits it was broken, and an obscure stony on was afterward presented unto them in lieu of a cleare and transparent one, so that after the time that the bright table was broke, Moyses had a vaile before his face, for by reason of his brightnes the impure Israelits could not behould his face, and even as his vaile was over his brightnes so was his speech a cover unto the truth of Gods mystery. It was also that very stone on which Jacob layed his head [*In margin* : Genes. 27.] when he slept and saw the vision, of which he sayed when he awaked. Seurlly the Lord was in this place and I was not aware. How fearfull is this place. This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven : And he took the stone that he had layed under his head and set it up as a pillar and poured oyle on it : and he called the name of the place Bethel which is as much to saye as the house of God. Then he,concludeth thus. And this stone (sayd he) which I have set us, shalbe Gods house: It followeth therfore, if the house of God then is it consequently the mysticall church, the spouse of Christ whith him as her soule, of which Salomon maketh so large testimony in his songe, who called her self the rose of the feild and the lilly of the vally, after the patterne wherof the Alkimists have shaped their red and whit Elixir, or stone : This stone therfore of Jacob doth well agree with the celestiall Jerusalem which is as it were the body house or citty of the spirituall lame, which serveth to governe and illuminat it, even as the mental beame of the soule of man is directed for the guid unto his body. So also was Jacobs stone the house or body whos lord and soule was God. for he calleth it the house and dwelling place of God. Of which temple and him that conquereth the passage into it by his spirituall fight it is sayd [*In margin* : Apoc: 3. 12.]. Him that overcommeth I will make a piller of the temple of my God, and he shall goe no more out, and I will wright upon him the name of my God which is the new Jerusalem which commeth downe from heaven. I will wright upon him my name [*In margin* : Apoc. 2. 17.]. It is therfore the whit stone mentioned in the Apocalips, which is promised unto him that overcommeth in which a new name is wrighten which noe man knoweth saving him that receaveth it. It is the spirituall rock which fedd the Israelights with meat and drink, that reall and materiall rock (I say) that Moyses strock with his rodd in the wildernes. Non solum pane vivit homo sayeth our saviour unto the temptour, sed omni verbo proveniente ab ore Dei. man liveth not onely by bread but by every word which isheweth from the mouth of God. It is the spirituall meat of the angells, and consequently all on with the hidden manna which is promised unto the overcommer with the whit stone [*In margin* : Apoc. 2. 17.]. It is the earthly paradise in which groweth the tree and floweth the water of lif. It is in conclusion that all in all of which the good hermit Morienus

ment in his wrighting of this motto or Emblin, which he placed about the vessaile in which he had made this magistery. Qui omnia secum habent aliena ope non indigent ³⁸. They who have all things with them of their owne need not forren ayde or assistance. And the Philosophers saying was. Omnia mea mecum porto : All that is mine I carry about me.

By this therefore I demonstrat that the Elixir (which amongst the Chemists hath his denomination from perfection of maturity as the Hebrews Thummim of the perfection of light) is a materiall, yea and an earthly substance but of an exalted nature by a supream purification. ffor we may learne by the celestiaall Jerusalem, and the spirituall rock and the Thummim with the Urim (which had they not been materiall could not have had a place in the mids of the Epod, and therefore quodammodo corporea quippe locata:) that ther is as well a spirituall body as a terrestriall, a subtill visibility of earth depurated as a gross : ffor when ther is a mutation of elements by a compleat rotation of them, wherin earth will be turned into water and water into invisible aer, and it into fire, then doth fire conclud all with a spirituall celestiaall, and a bright golden earth which is the tabernacle wherin the light of wisdom, so much mentioned of the wise kinge, [*In margin* : Sap : 19. 17.] aboundeth the which is full of lif and multiplication. Thus the elements agreed among them selves in this change, as when on tune is changed upon an instrument of musick and the melody still remaineth, which may easily be perceaved by the sight of the things that ar come to pass : for the things of the earth wer changed unto things of the water, and the thinge that did swim went upon the grownd, the fire had power in the water, contrary unto his owne vertue, and the water forgot his owne kind to quench. This is the speech of the wisest Salomon, on which, though he express but an historicall gloss, yet never the less his words ar mystically to be understood, as they which have had the experience of the true Elixir doe knowe right well.

But now I have tould you what this spirituall body, or temple or rock is and have prooved it to be materiall, I will proceed breefly unto the incorruptible and bright spirit or soule which dwelleth within it, by the act and vertue wherof it is exalted to a metaphysicall immortality and plusquamperfection by which all things multiply both in the excellency aswell of quantity and body as in quality and vertue of spirit, for the body beinge exalted draweth his lik unto it magnetically, as the salt of Tartre (which was aer at the first condensed into salt) sucketh the crud aer unto it and multiplyeth his quantity. which before it was freed from the body of the Tartre and mundified from his impurities it could not doe : so like wise the bright inward agent doth exalt the bewty of the quality and forme by attracting in the manner of the lodestones spirit his

³⁸ Cf. Morienus Romanus, *De Transfiguratione Metallorum*, Hanau 1593, p. 13 : "Introivi autem hanc domum, neque ab illa exivi, donec totum complevi magisterium ; completum in domo apposui, & circa vas, in quo fuerat positum, haec verba depinxi Omnes autem qui secum omnia habent, alieno auxilio nullatenus indigent."

like unto it. ffor so we se the spark of light or pure sulphur which lurketh in the raw and unripe frute never ceaseth till by attracting unto it his like fier of maturity he doth by litle and litle conquer the crud elements which were in the frut and by degrees converteth the whole mass, by reason of the dominion of hidden fier, into a golden patterne of maturity and perfection of his kinde :

This inward and centrall brightnes is the golden beame of formall perfection, the glittering seed of the true and simple philosophicall and Theologicall light, which is sowed in the cleare and transparent virgin earth or vessell of purity. It is . the simple emanation without any respect unto the creature, isheving from the fountayne of light. It is the essential or formall centre and circumference, the beginning and the end, the all in all the lif and increated light of the world, the midle and centrall soule of the sunne, the lif or soule of the elements, the incorruptible breath, spirit and beinge in all things, which are composed or shaped by them, the queller of confusion, the iust spirit of reformation, the head, authour, and act of multiplicative propagation. It is the Pagans God, their Demogorgon ³⁹, their Jupiter, their powerfull Cupid or God of love, their bright Apollo, the internall originall from whence their wise men and learned preests have under types, hieroglyphick and enigmaticall allegorys derived the decent of their Gods, which the blind and ignorant miscreant hath made the foundation of his Idolatrye by not understanding the spirituall meaning and sence of the wisemen, and therupon have taken and worshipped the creatures in which this divine light dwelled in steed of the light it self which is in the centre of every soule, namely the creature for the creatour, & sic evanuerunt in imaginationibus suis. It is the Jews great God Jehova, Elohim, Adonay, their Hochma or wisdom. It is the Christians Messias, their asseured word of God, their light of the world, their spirituall Christ, their Jesus, their Lord and saviour from whom and by whome they expect salvation both of body and soule. It is the Cabalists Aleph lucidum, or bright Aleph, their first emanation from the fountayne of light or bright unity, their second numeration or sephiroth called Hochma, their Angell Metatron, the true sabooth or mark of rest. It is the naturall philosophers centrall and formall beinge or beginninge, their Actus primus, or

³⁹ Cf. Leo Hebraeus, *De Amore Dialogi Tres*, in Joannes Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticæ etc.*, Basle 1587, p. 400 : 'Demogorgonem quoque eum (sc. supremum Deum poetæ) nuncuparunt, quod quidem significat Deum terræ ac universi, vel Deum terribilem, propterea quod omnibus maior existit. Hunc universa ferunt produxisse.' Cf. also Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, Frankfurt 1629, p. 20 : 'Quare in hoc opinio Manichæorum erronea, duo ponens atque statuens principia æterna, lucide refellitur, nec non et fabulæ illi de Demogorgone Aeternitate et Chao respondetur, quæ hæc tria increata atque ab æterno coætæna fuisse tradit : fingendo ipsum Chaos in aeternitate Dei Opt. Max. socium fuisse. Huic poetæ assertioni adstipulare videntur Platonici ; sed ea tamen cautela, quod Chaos æterna quadam generatione a Demogorgone processisse agnoscant.' The word Demogorgon is used by several alchemical writers and it would be interesting to trace its entire history. I would like to mention here only that according to Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopædie der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1905, it originated as a misreading for "deum demiurgon" in the old edition of Lactantius Placidus, *Schol. Stat. Theb.* IV, 516.

first act, or agent, their *natura naturans* & *infinita*, or creating and infinit nature : The morallists *summum bonum a quo omnia bona*. Their mark or goale of felicity, the end of all materiall appetite: The metaphysicks *Ens. unum* and *bonum*. The true Alchimists formall stone of plusquamperfection, the soule (I say) of their materiall Elixir before described. The centrall and inaccessible brightnes of their spirituall gold, at whos aspect all imperfection is exiled and banished, yea and the very prince of darknes him self (as not being able to endure the brightnes therof) is constrayned to vanish from the presence hearof. The mysticall Hebrews terme it their *Urim*, or light dwelling in *Thummim* which is perfection : and Ezekiell compareth it unto the likenes of ambre appearing out of the middst of that fier which ished out of the dark clowd comming from the North. wher by the dark clowd is ment the impure and confused substance in which this light or fier did dwell, out of which it must be extracted, and by the pure and undefiled shape of amber he understandeth this centrall light, which dwelleth in the materiall elixir, as this shape of amber did in the fier which ished out of the cloud comming out of the North. *Venit aurum ab Aquilone* (sayth the iust man) *propter Deum terribilem laude*. It is the Phisitians truest *aurum potabile*. their perfect elixir *vitae*, and most certayne antidot to cure all venomous diseases. *Neque herba neque malegma sanavit eos* (sayth the wiseman) *sed tuus Domine sermo qui sanat omnia*. It is wisdom which is the infallible medicin which as far surpasseth the inventions of Hippocrates or Galen, as light in bewty doth excell darknes. It is the Gram-marians *Alpha* and *Omega*, soule of the spirituall harmony and congruity of his speech : The Rethoritians eloquence and grace. The Arithmetitians unity in simplicity which is the beginning of all number, and the Hebrews make it their finall or punctuall *Aleph* which signifyeth .I. and their great *Aleph* which importeth a .1000. beyound which Aristotle affirmeth that there is no denomination (as we have sayd before). so that we se that *Aleph* signifyeth both *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginning and the end, and therefore also it is their trinity in perfection, for .3. seemeth to retourne from the binary confusion into the unity, from whence it came, and therefore .3. is the root of the progression of all formall perfection : is is their *numerus numerans* or number from which all numeration ishedweth. It is the Musitiens unison in it self, which is the fountayne from which all other symphoniacall accords doe flowe, as each number from unity : and it is their *Diapason* which is all on with the philosophers wished end or *summum bonum*, for this is the cord or consonant of the highest perfection in musick, and compleatest proportion which operateth in the wide spirit of the world, by the harmony of which all thing are exalted unto the highest pitch of perfection : and as great *Aleph* is to litle *Aleph* or *Omega* to *Alpha* so is *Diapason* unto *Unison* in the worlds spirit, and the meane harmony by which the binary number doth live and subsist in this world ar *Diatessaron* which is an imperfect consonant, and therefore his symphony is applyed unto the elementary kingdome, which is subiect unto mutations, and consequently it is

the accord of the body in composition : and Diapente which is the less perfect accord or consonant and therefore his melody is referred unto the celestiall or quintessentiall spirit which serveth in the compound body in lieu of a soule unto the body : so that the mentall beame soundeth forth the harmony of diapason in man, his soule or vivifying spirit or created forme, hath the proportion of diapente, and the body is varied according unto the unconstant tune or note of Diatessaron : and thus is the whole fabrick of every thing in this world framed and tuned with a greater or lesser accord in perfection according unto the ordinance of the unison who multiplyeth more or less the degrees of perfection in his creatures, and did compleatly above all the rest of his creatures extend the diameter of his perfection or Diapason for the adorning and bewtifying of man in his creation ⁴⁰. It is the Geometritians poynt being absolutely considered in it self, namely as it is Aleph tenebrosus or Deus latens, and it is his circle or circumference as it shineth forth and is periferically dilated in the worlds creation, for by his bright emanation out of darknes all thinge that before that time wer nothinge receaved their essence and beginninge. And therefore it is called principium or beginninge, and first act, wherby it may be inferred that it filleth all the wide and round world as diameters doe a circle, and consequently that it is in all things time and place, but not included, and yet it is without all creation, but in such sort that it is not excluded being that it rayneth in the dark abyss of hyla or chaos, wherupon it is wrighten That darknes is no darknes unto it. And this is the reason that Hermes that wise philosopher [*In margin* : Pimand. 3.] did describe God to be the centre of every thinge whos circumference is noe wher to be found, beinge that it is infinite and beyound all the limits of creation. And in an other place he sayeth that God is on and all. Deus (sayth he) unum & omne, totum & unum. Wherby it appeareth that he is in all Geometricall dimensions Alpha & Omega, the beginning, the end and the all of every thing. In Optick it is the centre or middle poynt of the eyes Christalline humour, which extendeth the lively beame of light unto the pupill or aple of the eye, even as the spirit of wisdom doth first communicat her power unto the created nature, then doth the pupill send out the beame by the centre of the visuall pyramis or Isoscular triangle untill it be conveyed unto the obiect which the appetite of nature is to descerne, and then suddaynly it reflecteth unto the unity or centrall poynt from whence it came, relatinge as a messenger unto the inquisitive nature of the animall the truth of that which it was sent out to discover : We se therefore that in this action of Optick the beginning and the ende doe also concurre and meet in unity. It is the bright centre of the Astronomers cleare sunne or brightest starre which therupon is enthroned, lik a kinge or mighty potentat in the hart

⁴⁰ Diatessaron=a perfect fourth ; Diapason=an octave ; Diapente=a perfect fifth Cf. Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Majoris, scilicet et Minoris Metaphysica atque Technica Historia*, Tomus Primus, pp. 98 *sqq.*, and also Fludd, *Monochordum Mundi*, Frankfurt 1622, pp. 38 *sqq.*

of heaven and as it wer in the midle centre of the .7. planets. from whence by vertue of his included treasure he giveth lif, and illuminateth not only the starrs of heaven, as unto his vassales, but also to every creature of the earth and seas. besides, Posuit tabernaculum suum in sole say the kingly Psalmist. He made his tabernacle or abidinge place in the sunne. It is the truest oracle by which the well asseured Astrologian iudgeth rightly of things or accidents to come.

Now concerning man him self which is by reason of his perfection called omnis creatura, It is his mentall beame, by the presence wherof he is exalted above all other creatures in reason and understandinge. Inspiravit Deus in faciem Adami spiraculum vitae, & Fecit hominem ad imaginem suam, & vos estis templum spiritus sancti: He breathed into Adam the spirit of lif: and made man after his owne image, and yee are the temple of the holy goste sayth the holly scripture: it is every wher for sayth Salomon spiritus domini implevit orbem terrarum. the spirit of the Lord filleth the earth: and Terra pariet salvatorem. The earth shall bringe forth a saviour. It hath made the dark cloud his tabernacle. Densa nubes (quoth king David) tigurium eius. The dark clowd is his tabernacle. To conclud, it is all in all and singularly in every thing. Nam incorruptibilis Dei spiritus (sayeth Salomon) inest omnibus rebus [*In margin*: Sap: 12. 1.], as I have alleaged before. But experience hath taught the sagest philosophers that this excellent and most bright spirit is to be found more plentifully in some things then in other some, and therefore they have made choyce of that thing which is most rich and plentiful in the presence of this benigne and bright spirit, to cause his occult light to shine out of the darknes therof: and yet nevertheless this light is so sacred and divine that it will not appeare but unto such as ar worthy of her presence: neyther shall they find it or have a reall vew of her in her spirituall palas, or shall observe her to appeare out of her darke clowd except (as our saviour doth teach us) they seek that they may finde, neyther shall it be opened unto them except they knock: for (if we observe the scriptures well) Moyses was commanded to strick the rock before that water would ishe forth of it. Estote verbi factores, be you doers of the word (sayeth Christ.) and in an other place it is sayed work out your owne salvation. The Prophet used a manuall operation in the cure of Hezekiah: and Christ made a past of spitle and earth to make the blind to see. We read not but that Elias in raysing the Child and our saviour Lazarus from death to lif, they wer troubled in spirit and breathed thrice in their faces. And Christ sayeth that if ye have as much faith as a grayne of mustard seed ye may remove mountaynes. Loe therefore it is evident that a manuall operation and mentall action are cooperatours in this divine magistry: and therefore Art is most necessary in the adapting of kind unto kind, which is the principall exployt in this buissines: But the true operation of this mystery doth so farre differ from the Vulcanian and torred artifice of spurious Alkimists as whit is from black or light from darknes. It is a blessing in our art (which

ought to be slow and humble) that we crave of him who is the only giver of wisdom, for *Non est volentis aut currentis sed Dei miserentis* ⁴¹. Man proposeth (as the old phrayse runneth) but God disposeth. Wherefore I require our husbandman or tiller of light not to condemne the power of Art (which he is ignorant of) without a sufficient cause be alleaged. For art doth but prepare and seperat the pure from the unpure by the adaptation of things that are not out of kinde: As for example we must prepare and clense our harts, therby to make them fitt vessells to receave thes blessings of wisdom not by a morall discipline but by a spirituall refinement, for wisdom which is pure and simple, must have the like purity to welcome her and not imaginary and supposed, nor that which is not what it appeares vulgarly to be: for forren and strange fier is not acceptable unto God, (as it appeared by the errour of Aarons sonnes for which the payd dearly): it is the fume of Gods fier, it is the brightnes of his fiery gold whos odours ar acceptable in the nostrils of wisdom, and unto the act of none other sacrifice will she voutsafe to incline: It is of this light the philosopher meanes when he sayd *Ne loquaris de Deo sine lumine*, and not of strange light. But of this more particularly in our next fourrows preparation or inquisition.

I conclud therefore this point, and say, that as this is a divine act or forme of the highest degree of exaltation, so it requireth a matter to work on like unto it self in proportion, the which matter therefore ought to be a spirituall and dignified Earth made fit within and without to receave so divine an influence, for this incorruptible spirit will not covet a logging that is not worthy of his presence, wherefore this spirituall or heavenly earth must be a pure virgin and a cleare transparent vessell in which it dayneth to reveale it self unto men: So shall chaste Psyche have the company and society of bright Cupid who is the commander and master of the Gods: so shall the spirituall Christ be truly and willingly espoused unto his virgin temple or Church his spouse: So will the bright Lame be found within the wales of the celestially and spirituall Jerusalem, so will the voyce of the Lord be heard in the earthly paradise at midday namely when the sunne is exalted into the meridian of perfection; so will Urim and Thummim utter oracles of truth, so shall heaven and earth meet in unity of affection: & perfection accomplished by compleat resurrection.

I will tell you now in a word or two what the philosophers doe say of this their elixir or Philosophers stone, wherby consequently you may guess wheather the Elixir they aymed at was materiall or not. Magister Bonus ⁴² sayeth that the Elixir is not only a formall quality, but also a materiall substance. And Dorneus ⁴³ affirmeth that the matter therof is all the elementary region, but

⁴¹ The same saying recurs in the *Summum Bonum* (see footnote 14), Frankfurt 1629, p. 51, and is quoted from there in footnote 25.

⁴² Petrus Bonus, Italian alchemist of the 14th or 15th century. He wrote *Introductio in artem Chimiae integra*, Montisbelligardi 1602, and *Pretiosa Margarita Novella*, Venice 1546.

⁴³ Gerhard Dorn flourished in the latter half of the 16th century at Frankfurt. He wrote numerous alchemical works. Cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Glasgow 1906, vol. ii, pp. 220 *sqq*

his forme or act is the aetheriall substance. Hoglandus ⁴⁴ calleth the matter of the Elixirs composition a stone, which he affirmeth to be framed out of water ayer and earth. And Bacon in the first chapter of his *Speculum Alchimiae* confesseth that Alchimy is a science which teacheth to produce a certayne medicin called the Elixir, which beinge projected on imperfect mettayles doth in a moment make them compleat and perfect ⁴⁵. Moreover, Dorneus and Hoglandus say that the Chemicall powder, wheather on calle it the Philosophers stone or fusible salt, or pure sulphur, or the Elixir, or a medicin or Aurum potabile, hath an admirable vertue and force in the thre kingdomes of compound things, namly animall, vegetable and minerall. And Hoglandus in his proeme sayeth: The intent of the Philosophers Art is to produce artificially a certayne minerall vertue out of the pure seed of gold and silver by the benefit and assistance of nature in the forme of a subtill powder whit and red which is able to propagat and multiply infinitely. *Novum lumen Chemicum* averreth that the Elixir is the pure visible sperme of all things whos interieur or invisible portion or forme he termeth semen, and this outward perfection he calleth humidum radicale, radical moysture, but the inward spark he termeth Calidum innatum, naturall and originall heate ⁴⁶. The Rosary sayeth that the agent and pacient, that is the forme and matter must be but on thinge in kind, but in the speciality that one thing becometh diverse according unto that nature which maketh the woman to differr from the man ⁴⁷. Againe he sayeth in an other place: Know that our stone is aereall and volatill in his apparent disposition, when contrary wise his inward nature is hot and drye ⁴⁸: In which speech of his (agreeinge with that of *novum Lumen Chemicum* above mentioned) he describeth the centrall fire or agent with the externall or perifericall patient. And Morienus the Roman doth publish that the mater of the Philosophers mystery was first on thinge and then it became two things and lastly it retourned unto on thinge againe: according unto that sayinge of George Ripply: make

⁴⁴ Theobald and Ewald von Hoghelande are two authors of uncertain identity. Several alchemical tracts appeared under these names in 1594, 1604, 1610 and later. Cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Glasgow 1906, vol. i, p. 411 sqq.

⁴⁵ Roger Bacon (1214 ?-1290 ?); cf. *Speculum Alchemiae doctissimi viri Rogerii Baconis*, in *Alchemia*, Nuremberg 1541, p. 257: 'Quare Alchemia est scientia, docens facere, & generare quandam medicinam, quae elixir nuncupatur, quae quando proicitur super metalla, seu corpora imperfecta, perficit ea complete in momento projectionis.'

⁴⁶ Michael Sendivogius, *Novum Lumen Chymicum*, Geneva 1653, p. 7: 'Sperma igitur est Elixir cuiusque rei, vel quinta Essentia, seu perfectissima rei decoctio et digestio, vel sulphuris Balsamum, quod quidem est Humidum radicale in Metallis, . . .'

⁴⁷ *Rosarium Philosophorum*, in *Artis Auriferae etc.*, Basle 1593, vol. ii, p. 207: 'Quare oportet esse necessarium, ut agens & patiens sint in genere res una & eadem: in specie autem altera & diversa, secundum Mercurium, quo diversificatur mulier a viro, quia licet in uno genere convenient, tamen inter se habent differentiam distinctam, ut differunt materia & forma.'

⁴⁸ *Rosarium Philosophorum*, l. c., p. 259: 'Unde Tudianus Philosophus: Scias quod lapis noster aereus & volatilis est in suo manifesto frigidus & humidus, & in suo occulto calidus & siccus est.'

trinity unity without any strife. I could bring forth an infinite company of other testimonys to demonstrat that the Philosophers intention was to produce a materiall, and that unto such an end they prepare and refine a certayne elementary or passive matter unto such a perfection that it might be worthy to receave so excellent and divine a forme or act as the beame of wisdom is whos tabernacle is a spirituall or aereall fier, the which is externall originall or act and lif of all things from whos centre the bright light of wisdom doth circularly darte her all creating, vivifying, and multiplying beames, whom (as Hermes telleth us is never vacant but ever in action and moving in and from the centre of creatures. To this sence speaketh Salomon thus [*In margin* : Sap: 7.], This divine spirit is the most movabest of all things never idle but ever operating unto goodnes. And in an other place [*In margin* : Sap: 12.] he confesseth that this incorruptible spirit is in all things : as we have often mentioned before : for verily without it nothing can subsist but will in a moment retourne for the want therof unto the original hyla or nihil : and consequently much less can any thinge be able to act or operat without it being that it is Principium maxime internum centraliter operans agens & movens. It is the most centrall agent and mover in all things without whos act all things are dead, and without whose presence nothinge is.

Thus may we see that out Tiller of light hath mightily erred in saying that neyther authours divine nor human doe warrent that Philosophicall hieroglyphicks, allegoryes, parables, moralls, or divine mysteryes, oracles have aymed, poynted at, or been any way applyed unto a materiall Elixir : As also we may perceave this his consequence to be but of little avayle, namly that Because the Philosophers and holy scriptures doe principally ayme at wisdom, therefore they never pretended any materiall Elixir. As who should say because the scriptures speake of the spirit of wisdom every wher, therefore they doe not intend the apparent sonne in which she built her tabernacle, nor the visible clowd in which she dwelled, nor the spirit and body of man which ar her temples, nor the visible things in the world, which she inhabiteth, for as is sayd often before, she is in al things : and without her nothing can subsist.

I will proceed now before mine harrow shall pass out of this furrows examination (being that in the unprofitable darnell which is sowed in it, all the apostature and heresy against the divine Elixir is containd) and conclude with an answeare unto that mayne obiection produced in the 6. page of the Tillage of Light, by which our Husbandman would proove the Philosophers Elixir to be a meere Chimera or non ens. His words are thes. God hath barred (sayth he) both Art & Nature from transmutation by a prematurated birth of things of an other quality in such a fixed perfection as may multiply millions.

As touching the offices of Art and Nature I referr them unto my next fourrow. But I will shew you heare what is the power of that hidden wisdom which inhabiteth, as is sayed, every creature more or less : and by how much the more she aboundeth in any of them, by so much the more noble ar they and dignified before god, for wisdom delighteth to inhabit cleane vessells and pure

harts. In animas sanctas se transfert (sayth he) & Amicos Dei et Prophetas constituit, Neminem enim diligit Deus, nisi eum qui cum sapientia habitat, est enim haec luce speciosior solis. She maketh frends of God and prophets, for God loveth none but such as doth dwell with wisdom, for wisdom is brighter then the sonne. St. Austin, in his comment upon Genesis, seemeth not much to vary from this poynt. By how much the more (sayth he) the creature aboundeth in light, by so much the more doth he participat of divinity. And Divine Plato with Apuleius his precept was. Ne loquaris de Deo sine lumine. speak not of God without light. It was the breath of God that did dignifye man only (amongst other creatures) with the mentall beame of reason and understanding wherby he got the preheminance over all the creatures of the earth: It was the multiplicative excellency and benignity of refreshment and nourishment that made our saviour to chose bread or wheat, to allude unto his precious body. it is the perfection of Gold amongst the mineralls that holy scriptures them selves hould in so high esteeme by reason of his perfection and exaltation in minerall brightnes and light, wherby it surpasseth all other mettayles in compleat maturity, by the allusion of which it is sayd, I will purify thee lik refined gold: Thou shaltbe as gold seven times tried in the fire & wet: And all of these perfections proceed from thos graynes of the first formall excellency, which God allotted unto gold in the creation therof. Man therefore beinge the prince of the animall kingdome, having a supernaturall spirit allotted unto him, brandishing, though occultly, with divine fire, hath the gift, if rightly he understand him self, to abound in spirituall generation and propagation, which is chaste and holy before God and man (as Salomon teacheth us: and this act as wel the Euneucke as the sterill woman may effect, as he assureth us in the chapter goinge before. And this multiplication is a patterne unto that of the Elixir of the Philosophers, or the Elixir the type of it when it is multiplyed in forme or essentiall quality of light and not in quantity of substance. We may observe that man doth generat and propagat after the maner and condition of beastes. but this kind of generation is not spirituall, but is corporealy to the beastiall gross carnall or outward man, as the chaste and spirituall begetting isheweth from the inward man. Wheat also in the vegetable kingdome multiplyeth in it self, but this kind of multiplication (as St. Paule teacheth us) is after death by a due resurrection. I will a litle discourse upon this poynt, for it will make a good ingress into the order of multiplication in the minerall dominion.

The bands therfore of the 4. Elements ar so strongly fastned in the originall composition of wheate before a natural corruption, that the bright spark of vegetative multiplication (which we have fully described and declared before to be the incorruptible spirit of lif which dwelleth in all things) is kept in, and cannot otherwise dilate it self but only persisteth to mayntayne the grayne and apurtenances therof in the true shape and existence of their first creation. I would not by the scrupulous be heare mistaken, namly that I meane that this divine spirit is more inclusively in the grayne of wheat, then the sonne can be

imagined to be therefore included in a chamber because on or more of his beames ar containd in it, for I sayed (if you remember), that the light of wisdom is in all and in every thinge, but not included, and without all things but not excluded : for God, sayth Mercurius Trismegistus, is indivisible for as much as he is unity, and in an other place he termeth God the centre of all things whos circumference is noe wher, (as is sayd already) and it is upon this grownd that the Pythagoreans doe averr that all things were full of Gods, which in generall they referred unto on particular and supreme Jupiter : and in the like manner the Platonists did allude all particular soules unto on soule of the world. Neyther will the elements in composition permitt (so unwilling ar they to leave and loose such a jewell) that this sparke of light, dwelling in a pure and undefiled spirit, should depart, except the vegetable spirit of the ayer, which glued them togeather, by a natural, and not violent putrefaction, or rotting in the earth, as in natures vessell, dissolved and opened, that therby this fiery spark of supreme nature being at liberty may by litle and litle sublime and rise out of the earth, who to fortifye her self in that action, draweth out of the ayer by a magnetick virtue more light of her owne nature and essence unto her assistance, for Nature doth help nature, and nature doth reioyce in her like nature : so that by this meanes the freed spark is multiplid in quantity of an equal quality, and that mightily. Doe we not observe by this reason that on spark lighteth a candle, which candle doth afterward multiply his flame unto the burninge and consuming of a house, and the flame of that house againe is ready without any impediment to inflame and endaunger a whole citty : or doe we not observe that on spark ishewing from the flint stone, giveth fire in plenty unto many families ? The proverb is wher the dead carcaces of many slawtred men ar ther the Eagles frequent, and wher putred flesh is ther the flyes ar in multitud, which approach not whilst lif remayneth in it : So also this hidden and invisible fire of Heraclitus and Zoroaster or thos Egle bred sparks of light, the true birds of Jupiter, lurking every wheare in the ayer, doe unit and gather togeather lik flyes them selves wher corruption aboundeth, for we see by experience that the greater the fire is the more it sucketh unto it ayereall moysture by an naturall instinct which being once attracted, is for the most part expired and sent out, as superfluous after that the fire hath united unto it that portion of light or fire which is homogniall and of the same nature with it self. even as on drop of water added unto an other becommeth all on thinge : This we may observe in the centrall fire of mans lif which every minut sucketh unto it his lik which the ayer doth every wheare invisibly containe in it, and therefore as the vehicle of that attracted beame or seed of lif ishewing from the fountayne of lif is the ayer which every minut is drawne in by the wind pipe, so we se that when this spark of lif is added unto the flame therof, the ayer is sent forth againe as a fulliginous and superfluous vapour from the left ventricle of the heart : It is much after this manner that the smal portion of light or lif in the grayne inhabitinge the centre therof, being by putrefaction and dying, sett at liberty, doth drawe unto it a multitude of invisible and formall fire of his

owne likenes in essence which lurk invisibly in the ayer, after that they ar descended by influence from heaven, to the end that by the assistance and ayd of their bright wings it might with the greater celerity sublime out of the dead and dark putrified body, that being freed from the slime of the dissolved mass of elements, it might fly up unto his native countrey, the kingdome of light and perfection, namly into heaven which is the naturall home of each quintessentiall substance. But loe, in her ascent she is so beloved of the element of fire ; which by a naturall contiguity & concatenation challengeth the next place unto the æthereall spirit ; that she cannot ascend without this element, : and the like consanguinity-challengeth the element of ayer of that of the fire, : and againe the water of that of the ayer, and lastly the earth, keepinge the self same proportion and order with the water as it had with the ayer, not being able by reason of his naturall inclination and ponderosity to clime any higher, doth hould and tye downe the other aspiring and soreinge elements, which al ready in their voyage towards heaven have attayned unto the tope of the lofty stemme or shaft of the wheat, which she confirmeth with fast roots within her bosome : Hence therfore it cometh that the spark or formal grayne of wheat, having in the litle space of his liberty drawne many times his owne quantity of his like nature out of the worlds universall spirit. (operating after the patterne of this saying, When I am exalted I draw all spirits unto me.) and being glued rownd about by the subtill slime of the 4. inferiour elements ; which serve to multiply in quantitative substance or matter as the fiery seed doth in quality ; the specifick shape maketh it to impart a share of his abundance unto other parcells of the thin and covitous elementes. which concurre unto a manifold formation of many other like graynes according unto the nature and habit of the vegetable spirit which is the vessell of wheat. Thus much we may safly speake as having proved it by an ocular demonstration : so that it is now easy (as I imagin) for an understanding man to descerne the true reason, and to give place unto this confirmation of multiplication, as well in the animall as vegetable creature. But let us yet come a litle nearer unto the fountayne of this multiplicative increase that we may the better proceed to proove it by sufficient reason.

That which Mercurius Trismeg : calleth Verbum & spiritum igneum utriusq sexus faecunditate plenissimum : The word and firy spirit most abundant in the fecundity of each sex. St. Austine and Picus Mirandulanus calleth the fiery spirit of divine love which did impart a vivifying and multiplying vigour unto the waters : and St. John doth acknowledg it to be the lif of all things : and it was this mysticall spirit of wisdom wherby Elias did multiply the widdows oyle, and Christ the bread and fish wherby many thousands wer nourished beyound expectation, and it was by it that he made a publick transmutation of on kind into an other namly of water into wine, which was above the common strayne and course of nature. It is the Platonists anima mundi or soule of the world or rather the centrall inhabitour of the sunne, the Cabalists Metatron or rather that great name which was wrighten in him : For this Metatron is

esteemed to be that angell which directed the Irsaelits in the wildernes, in which was the great name of God Tetragrammaton impressed : Wherby we ought to note that as the created matter or passive nature of this angelical mixtion was considered, so this soule of the world was called the angel or intellectual spirit, of the Lord, and consequently was in that phrayse of speech taken for a creature, and in this sence it is sayed, The Angell of the Lord went before them in a piller of clowd by day, and a piller of fire by night, : but as the meare formall essence and active nature of this mixtion was respected, so in the same chapter we read that Jehova did goe before them in a piller of fire by night & in a piller of clowd by day, so that by Jehova is ment the Great name of God wrighten in the angelicall and created substance, and it was this vivifying word which was the first act and inward soule of him, the which act was the increated light, but the spirituallly created matter of the Angell or soule of the world was the subtill composition of the supernaturally exalted elements which is of an absolut spirituall nature. And this is the reason that Jamblicus in his mysterys doth seeme to describe angels, demons, and Heroes by their differences and variations of light. Wherfore we conclud that as this excellent aetheriall spirit, endued with an Emphyreall soule of the purest and highest simplicity, is of an equall temper in spirituall matter and fiery and bright forme (wherupon it is termed of the Greeks Aether, quasi Aethaer, that is igneus aer, or a fiery ayer, or light equally mixed with spirit or ayer) so also if the influences of the spheare of equality doe not find heare on earth or in the ayer an equall and temperat disposition in heat, cold, humidity and siccity lik it self, it produceth not the expected effect of fructification and increase, : because that much heat and drouth is an enemy unto the tender and subtill spirit or moyst and fluid substance of the influence, which is nothings else but the humidum radicale or radicall moysture of all creatures : and therefore consequently it is an obstacle unto the progress of nature in multiplication : as also much cold is as opposit unto the calidum innatum which is the principale multiplicatour and actour in the plentifull propagation of things: againe wher superfluous humidity hath the sway the effects of nature proove hydropicall for as much as the vertue of the fiery agent is weak and debil in her worke of digestion so that the cornucopia of that yeare will not be rife upon the earth : but wher the season is temperat and the elements meet in a mediocrity, ther this quintessential spirit (which is the vehicle and tabernacle of the fixt essences to wit of the beame of divine wisdom) doth work her effects of increase & multiplication in abundance : and consequently, corne, flowers, fruts, hearbes and seeds to produce their like with an infinite increase and multiplication, for as much as it findeth the ayers temper to agree exactly with the temper of her self in iustice and equity. Thus therefore have we expressed breeffly the cheef and originall cause or centrall act of the multiplication of wheat : which is the principalest of vegetables and all other inferiour creatures of his kind that we may with the better apprehension of the reader conceave the secret manner of a duple multiplication in the prince of mineralls which is Gold,

It is not unknowne unto the true Philosophers that not only gold hath his fix and bright grayne in him, but also all other mettayles : nevertheless it chances that in some of them this graynes action or motion unto the complement of perfection is hindred by the impurity of an heterogeniall sulphur which is ioynd unto his pure mercury : and for this cause is lead called Aurum leprosum : a leprous gold : for allthough his appetite unto perfection be compleat, yet is the impurity of his sulphur a mayne bar or let in his progression unto his desired mark. Flammel therefore doth confess that lead hath his fix & multiplicable grayne though the motion therof unto natures period be let and hindred. And although the effects of this fixed spark be apparent in the body of Gould unto the outward vew, even as we observe that the supernaturall essence in the bright sunne doth reveale him self in the outward shape or circumference therof, yet nevertheless the tye and connexion of the element is so fix and closed with a Dedalion knot in gold, that John Mehune⁴⁹ doth affirme it to be an easier thinge to make gold then absolutly to destroye it : and againe (koth he) if thou couldest destroye it yet wer it not possible to doe any great matter in this art : and therefore Roger Bacon in his mirroir of Alchimie [*In margin* : Specul. Alchemiae c. 3.] doth admonish us to make election of such a matter as hath in it a pure, cleare, whit and red argentum vivum or quick silver which is not as yet produced unto perfection, but remayneth in his naturall composition equally and proportionably mingled, that is by iust measure with pure sulphur of his like nature, and congealed into a sollid mass, that by our wit and discreation, and by the help of our artificall fire we may reduce him unto his compleat purity and make him such a thinge as after his complement may be a thousand times stronger and more perfect then thos simple bodys that are only concocted by naturall heate⁵⁰. Hebraeus⁵¹ in his cabalisticall story of love affirmeth

⁴⁹ Jean de Mehun, French poet and alchemist at the Court of Philip the Fair. Mehun flourished in the 13th and 14th century. He is said to have continued the *Roman de la Rose*. The Paris edition of the *Roman de la Rose* of 1735 contains two alchemical poems under his name : *Les Remonstrances de Nature a l'Alchimiste errant* and *La Reponse de l'Alchimiste a Nature*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Roger Bacon, *Speculum Alchemiae doctissimi viri Rogerii Baconis*, in *Alchemia*, Nuremberg 1541, pp. 263, 264 : ' Eligenda est ergo materia, in qua est argentum vivum mundum, purum, clarum, album & rubrum, non ad complementum perductum, sed commixtum aequaliter & proportionabiliter, per modum debitum cum sulphure tali, & in massam solidam congelata, ut cum ingenio & prudentia nostra igneque nostro artificiali ad munditiam sui intimam, & ad ipsorum puritatem pervenire possimus, & talem efficere, quod ipsa post operis complementum sit millies millesies fortior et perfectior, quam ipsa corpora simplicia caliditate naturali decocta.'

⁵¹ Hebraeus=Leo Hebraeus=Jehuda ben Isaac Abarbel ; cf. J. Chr. Wolfius, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Hamburg 1723, vol. i, p. 434. He wrote *De Amore Dialogi Tres*, Venice 1564. This work is also contained in Joannes Pistorius, *Artis Cabalisticae etc.*, Basle 1587. The passage Fludd is referring to here is on p. 385 of the latter edition : ' Semina quae terra a coelesti coniuge recipit, sunt rores et pluviae : quae quidem radiorum Solis, Lunae, & aliorum Planetarum, necnon fixorum syderum virtute in terra, ac in mari omnis species, omniaque individua corporum compositorum ex elementis uno illorum quatuor, quos supra dixi, modorum gignunt atque producant.'

that the matter of the seede which the earth receaveth from heaven is a kind of dew which by vertue of the beames of the sunne moone and starrs: doth procreat all the kinds of compound things, as well of the sea as earth. And Aegidius de Vadis sayeth. If thou requirest the name of the matter loe the Philosophers doe name it after this manner. The act of Active things is in the pacient which is well disposed for his action for forme (sayeth he) doth not work but according unto the disposition of the matter in which it is ⁵². And then he proceedeth thus. The gold (sayeth he) we use is not vulgar, because that the vulgar cannot be more highly exalted: but our gold is so called because it is equall in his temper and qualitis unto gold, for otherwise it could not endure the fire: wherefore we say that our medicin must be made equall unto gold, but common gold is not our medicin, but only a helper unto it, because that common gold hath not in it the spirit of vegetation that our gold contayneth in it. Exalt therefore our sunne by sublimation untill it come unto the highest step of dignity ⁵³, and you must consider that all vegetation consisteth in a vegetable spirit, and it is by vertue of this spirit that a smal quantity of our stone doth multiply the medicin infinitely, being that without it nothing can vegetat, much less multiply in abundance ⁵⁴: If therfore (sayeth he) ⁵⁵ though art ignorant of such a spirit in mineralls, enquire diligently after it as well in bodyes as in spirits, for without it thou canst doe nothinge. And in an other place he sayeth: The stone or medicine that thou seekest after doth pullulat and multiply as the grayne of wheat after that it is mortified

⁵² Aegidius de Vadis, *Dialogus inter Naturam & Filium Philosophiae*, first edition Frankfurt 1595, reprinted in *Theatrum Chemicum*, Strasburg 1659, vol. ii, p. 85 *sqq.* and in Manget's *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Geneva 1702 from which the following quotations are taken. Cf. p. 330: '(Natura). . . quibus arte praeceptis scies qua ratione agens agit & materia patitur, quia (Arist. teste) omne agens in suo passo nobilius est.' Also p. 327: 'Quia ut (inquit Plato) secundum meritum materiae dantur formae: nulla est generatio congrua, nisi ex convenientibus in natura.'

⁵³ Aegidius de Vadis, *loc. cit.*, p. 335: '(Natura) . . . Dedi superius distinctionem auri . . . et qualis ille sol est, qui exaltari debet, cum nonnullis rationibus: Quare sol vulgi non exaltatur, quem Plinius in sua historia naturali definit dicens: Sol omnium corporum nobilissimus, nihil igne deperit, tantisque incendiis rogisque durante materia. Perpendis iam, quod si aequatus in suis qualitatibus non esset, ignem tolerare minime posset, & hoc durante materia. Quare dixi tibi, quod ad instar suae qualitati, medicinam tuam adaequare necesse est. Non erit ergo ille medicina, sed coadiuvans, quia non habet spiritum vegetativum in se de quo locuta sum. . . . Et sic clare vides quod ipse non est, sed Philosophorum qui exaltandus est.'

⁵⁴ Aegidius de Vadis, *loc. cit.*, p. 334: '(Natura) . . . Scias ergo quod primum movens in me natura, est spiritus vegetativus qui in vegetabilibus humor aereus, in animalibus vero humor radicalis: vel calor innatus dicitur: Et est proprie ignis naturae: Non intellegas tamen quod sit calidus ignis & siccus. Imo ut prius dixi, est naturalis: qui proprie dicitur calidus & humidus: & propter hoc Philosophi dicunt suum lapidem esse vegetabilem, eo quod absque tali spiritu neque cresceret neque pullularet.'

⁵⁵ Aegidius de Vadis, *loc. cit.*, p. 335: 'Quod si tu . . . ignoras talem spiritum fore in mineralibus inquirere diligenter de eo, tam in corporibus quam in spiritibus, sive medijs, quia sine ipso nunquam perficies.'

in a good soyle ⁵⁶: He concludeth ther also that the only mover or agent in Nature is a vegetable spirit which is the proper fire of Nature, which is hot and moyst and therfore the Philosophers terme the Elixir their vegetable stone ⁵⁴. Novum lumen doth instruct us at large that mineralls have their seeds as well as animalls and vegetables wherby they multiply when their gross matter is seperated from them, and all impure obstacles ar taken awaye.

It wer infinit to produce all the authours testimonys which confirme the multiplication of vegetables: but by the way let me give you this advertisement, namly that your matter ought to be reduced by natures fire unto the highest perfection of a minerall nature before it can work out his effect of transmutation in the minerall kingdome: and this is intimated by Aegidius de Vadis, when he sayeth that it ought to be made equall unto gold by sublimation.

But I knowe that all thes will hardly satisfy the spirit of our misbeleeving husbandman except we produce more evident proofs then thes: Wherfore I will repeat once againe what I have sayed before, the better to draw and extract mine arguments out of the fountayne of all light and brightnes. I proceed therfore thus.

All perfection is from the spirit of wisdome, all things are sayed to be good for as much as they doe participat of her and in that respect each work of the creation wer by God him self affirmed to be good. Now this incorruptible spirit is in all things (as the wisman testifieth) [*In margin*: Sap 12. v. 1.] yet the presences and consequently the effects therof abound more in on creature then in an other: wher therfore this immortall fire doth most abound ther is doubtles more perfection, for this excellent spirit is the trophée of perfection, and therefore is a purger and banisher away of all impurity and uncleanes: Wherfore man, (which is omnis creatura) or the patterne of all things, doth dayly beg and pray unto his creatour to clense him with his grace and holy spirit, and to lighten his darknes & caet. It followeth therfore (I hope) as allready graunted, that if all leprous impurity as well in mineralls as in vegetables and animalls be taken away and expelled by the plentiful fruition and presence of this high and supernaturally exalted essence, then they must of necessity be perfect and consequently be respected in the equall ballance both of fixation and brightnes of couler with gold it self: for this unresistable fire exalted out of darknes unto his owne original purity of nature reduceth bodys from immaturity and unripenes unto the highest pitch of an exalted maturity and ripenes and that at an instant, even as we observe by experience that lightning doth melt the sword in the skabbert in the twinkling of an eye: and it is of an admirable community whith creatures of each degree, for it worketh in every on of them more or less according unto the dignity and

⁵⁶ Aegidius de Vadis, *loc. cit.*, p. 334: '... lapis id est medicina quam quaeris pullulat, & multiplicatur quemadmodum granum frumenti cadens in terram bonam, cum mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert. Quia (Divo Paulo testante) quod seminatur non fructificatur, nisi prius corrumpatur, & moriatur.'

excellency of his kind; for it is ever more but on thinge and yet accordinge unto the resistance of matter it worketh and acteth with more or less violence: even so we se that though the fire is in essence all on, yet never the less we find in it in regard of the variety of resistance divers and different actions for if on stands a good way from it then it comforteth by his gentle and naturall heate, but by a suddayne and rash aproch it scorseth and burneth unnaturally: so also we se that the sonne, from whose centre this spirit darteth his beames of comfortable heat to vivifye and multiply every thing in his kind, and yet never the less we may decerne that partly by the reflecting resistance of a burning glass and partly by contracting his dispersed beames into on union or centre; that very same thing which is comfortable unto others is by this accident of resistance made destructive. This on spirit therfore in it self, which is (as Salomon witnesseth) gentle, meeke, lovinge, and in him self allways doinge good doth work divers effects according unto the variety of subiects, and heare upon it is that the slipp of a cherry, plome, peare or olive tree being grafted on the stock of an apple tree, will for all that bringe forth every on his frute, for this good spirit unifieth it self, out of the ocean of his infinity unto the spark of each kind which was graunted unto it from his first creation. And therfore St. John and St. Paule say: From him, in him and by him doe all things isheve and consist, to whom be all prayse and honour: By it (sayth St. John) all things wer made and without it nothinge was made, in it was lif. & caet:

I must therfore from this infallible grownd conclude that all perfection and multiplication must originally isheve from this root of plusquamperfection: and consequently it is not impossible for gold to be made by the administration of art, that is by a rationall and fit adaptation of things of on kinde, wherby the incorruptible spirit or centrall beame of light may proceed in his voyage unto intended perfection without any impediment. But because this light is universally disperced in the created matter or spirit of the world (though not inclusively) for *spiritus disciplinae sanctus implet orbem*: (as Salomon teacheth us) it is most evident therfore that in his freedome from darknes, it will chiefly make election of such a spirituall matter to dwell in as shalbe most fitting and agreeable for his excelling dignity and purity of essence, wherin it will operate untill the temple in which it dwelleth be sublimed and exalted unto the highest period of originall perfection wher the mysticall saboth of the Cabalists doth raygne.

I conclude therfore this long iourney, which truths golden harrow hath so faithfully traced through this troublesome furrow, with this assertion: that ther is a materiall Elixir spirituallly exalted even as our bodys shalbe after perfect resurrection, which is the palace wherin the incorruptible spirit or bright and beuteous essence of forme doth dwell at which the hieroglyphicks, morals, mysteryes, parables, allegories and oracles both of sacred scriptures and divine philosophy doe chiefly ayme at. And that I prove by Christ his apparition after his resurrection, which was effected (as St. Paule sayeth) by the vivifying spirit: by Esdras his fiery cupp, by the scrowle of Ezekiel, and that of St.

John : by the stone on which Jacob slept : by the manna and whit stone promised unto the overcommer : by Elias his multiplying of the widdows flowre and oyle, by the increase of the two lofes of bread and two fishes, by the transmutation of water into wine. Nor would I have our Plowman that gold is the cheef mark that wise men doe ayme at or the end of their labours, for though that art be in their power when the heyght of this mystery is attained unto, yet is the making of gold the weakest treasure of a million that it contayneth under it. And unto this purpose Hermes speaketh thus of this secret in his Smaragdine table. sic habebis gloriam totius mundi, ideo fugiet a te omnis obscuritas. Haec est totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortis : quia vincit omnem rem subtilem omnemque solidam penetrabit : sic creatus est mundus. Thus (sayth he) shalt thou have the glory of all the world, and therefore shall all obscurity fly from thee. This is the mighty force of all fortitude, for as much as it subdueth every subtile thing and penetrateth each solid substance. Thus was the world made. And againe other wise men speake thus. ffy upon gold (say they) as it is gold, for unto who the universall nature is made manifest, he will not reioyce in that it is in his power to make gold, or as Christ witnesseth, that the divells ar made obedient unto him, but his reioycinge wilbe that he seeth the heavens open and behouldeth the angells of god descend and ascend, and marketh with illuminated eyes his name wrighten in the book of lif. St. John speaketh (as is allready sayed of the whit stone promised unto him that overcommeth in which a new name is wrighten which none knoweth but he that hath it. Salomon sayeth (speaking of the outward effects of wisdom) that her spirit howldeth in her left hand riches, but unto her right hand he attributeth longe lif and prosperity.

Lastly we observe that vegetables are transmuted into the substance of the animall namely into flesh and blood, and also we ar ocular witnesses that serpents, oystershells, whales bones and other such like animall parts have been changed into hard and rocky stones, as in the kinge of fraunce his cabinet in the Lover at Paris and huntington sheire I have seen. Also it is commonly knowne that wood and roots of trees have suffred the like mineral transformation. It followeth reciprocally that mineralls may be turned into vegetables, and they againe into animalls, and therfore mineralls may have the self same gift by reduction to multiply as Artefius⁵⁷ wittnesseth in his book called *Clavis major Sapientiae*, that animalls or vegetables.

⁵⁷ Artepheus, *Clavis Maioris Sapientiae*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Geneva 1702, vol. i, p. 503 : 'Dicamus ergo, in principio creationis fuit quilibet planetarum in directo sui signo, in orbe signorum, & operabantur ergo operationes, & descenderunt in terram, donec generarentur corpora mineralia, ipsis proportionabilia, & postea movebantur ista corpora supercœlestia : hinc ista habitudo & respectus inferiorum, & corrumpabantur mineralia prius generata, & postea rediit ille adspectus corporum supracœlestium respectu inferiorum, et generabantur plantae ex eadem materia, quae prius erat sub forma corporum mineralium, et postremo abscessit secundo motus ille, & corrumpabantur plantae, rediit tertius motus iste, et generabantur ex istis plantis animalia.' Artepheus was probably a 12th century Arab. Cf. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Glasgow 1906, vol. i, p. 51.

I will pass now unto the next furrow and so unto the sixt wherin I pourpose to bringe you certayne examples of the multiplication of mettayles, and of the transmutation of such as ar imperfect unto perfect gold that therby the weake beleef of this our Tiller of light may be the better fortified in the truth:

The fift furrow importeth our Plowmans third reason to prove the philosophers stone or the Elixir to be an enemy unto philosophy.

The some of his text:

Because the designes of Philosophy ar under shadows to exalt the excellency of wisdome and not to wronge nature or flatter art, by making the on beleewe what she cannot doe, and by perswading the other to bring imposturie into the world. Pag: 5.

The arguments wherby he mayntayneth this reason are by him produced from the offices of Art and nature: Wherof

The first is because Nature only extendeth her self unto the first perfection of creatures, and produceth naturall effects from naturall causes. Pag: 5.

The seconde because that Art hath in her power but only to dignify and pollish Natures works by a kind of sublimation, or else to seperat gross parts from the pure, or rectifye the substances of things, to draw from vild things holsome things and good effects, but never to add other essence unto the first substance that it had before: Pag. 5.

The third. Though nature and Art ioyned may attayne more glorious perfection, yet is miraculous multiplication of unrefined substances of an other nature by projection, without their commission, unless they would surreptitiously usurp and intrude into the worlds sovveraynes place. Pag: 5.

The fourth. God hath appoynted art to be Natures helper and to cooperat with her in the great world, but hath barred both of them from transmutation by a prematured birth of things of an other quality in such a fixed perfection as may multiply millions: for it is an eternall decree that none of Gods creatures should be invested in that glory which is proper unto him self: Pag: 6.

The fift. What more fond conception can ther be then that art by fire can force nature to produce that which in the current of her course and connexion of causes she cannot doe. Or that nature and Art ioyned can metaphysically transmute Natures works unto other ends then they wer created for, or forme them in other moulds then their owne. Pag: 8.

The sixt: mineralls cannot properly be sayed to propagat or multiply because they have elementary mixture but want either vegetable seed or sensible quality. Pag: 8.

The Golden Harrows examination:

The weaknes of this his third reason will sufficiently bewray and manifest it self by the analizing of thes his six arguments which he produceth for the defence therof.

The seeds of proof therefore which he casteth into this furrow ar vi. as your ⁵⁸ are made wittnes, but I beleeeve that in the conclusion their frute will prove but an imaginary chimera when by the breaking of certayne clodds of irreparable mistakings they bewray their insides.

To this first therefore we reply that the created nature, being set at liberty and clensed from all impurity and superfluity, as it wer by a new resurrection, is then made [*In margin* : Sap: 12.] a perfect vessell for that highest light or brightnes (in whose centre the incorruptible spirit of wisdom dwelleth as is sayd before) the which bright spirit will then immediatly exalt him unto the highest perfection : And this is effected by corruption and dyinge, after the naturall patterne observed in the grayne of corne which after it is dead (for by dying his elements ar parted by subtiliation, and that by vertue of the centroll and incorruptible agent, doth rise againe in a manifold multiplication. ffor as it is wrighten in the holy scriptures that the spirit of wisdom inhabiteth and worketh in a pure hart, so also according unto that phrayse of speech this quintessential beame of light or solary spark, in which the incorruptible spirit hath made his tabernacle, maketh it self best knowne in a pure simple and heavenly vessell, that is in an elementary spirit exalted unto the nature of the fift element. And this in playne termes is iustified by Plato in thes words. Such as the matter is such will the forme express it self to be, so that a pure and unmaculated forme or essence requireth a like passive complexion to work on : And therefore our Tiller mistaketh in comparing the action and passion of inferiour matter and form with thos that ar exalted unto an higher dignity wherein the incorruptible grayne doth more evidently worke and more effectually and lively express it self.

To the seconde. He confirmeth in this unawares that which advisedly he seemeth to deny. Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charibdim. It is most true that Art doth nothinge else but by adaptation putrify the dark matter to free the hidden formal spark or grayne of light hidden in obscurity and darknes : that is, seperat the heterogeniall superfluity or gross inutill substance and lay bare that which is of the pure elements, for then will the formall spark so operat of it self, that by a magnetick attraction it will draw his lik unto it out of the ayer, even as we observe that the fire once lighted doth multiply it self, and this is also the reason of multiplication in every vegetable grayne : so that it is not art that addeth, but it is the hidden fire of Nature that through the instigation and incitation of his first internall principal or centroll agent which sucketh his like unto him, for Natura Natura laetatur & gaudet, Natura naturam iuvat : So in like manner it is not art which draweth the ayer unto the salt of Tartre but the spirit which operateth within the salt, but againe except that art had purified this salt from his superfluitys and had reduced it to his simplicity, that attractive power in puissance could not be produced into art, by reason that the inward spirits (which ar obedient ministers unto the centroll and incorruptible spirit) wer not free from the bands of the fower elements.

⁵⁸ Either a word is omitted here or 'you' should be read for 'your'.

The third is sufficiently answered by the two precedent repliments: for it is noe mervayle that quantity increased is a multiplication, and this quantity by the exaltation and rotation of elements may be made plusquamperfect in quality, for the corruptible⁵⁹ spirit which is in all things worketh unto his iliad of perfection, or to the high pitch of the Cabalists sabaoth: namely till he hath made his palace of the highest degree of spirituality like unto him self:

To the fourth. It is not art nor the created nature, but the incorruptible nature grayne or bright spark in his fry chariot which multiplyeth. It was the word Crescite & multiplicamini, as Moyses sayeth. It was Deus or spiritus ignis utriusque sexu foecundissimus, as Mercurius Trismegistus sayeth: or igneus amor vigorem multiplicationis aquis impertiens as St. Austin affirmeth, Or Verbum in quo Vita as St. John witnesseth. or spiritus incorruptibilis in omni re delitescens: as Salomon will have it which is the only centrale & internum multiplicationis principium. It is not the plowinge husbandman that is the artist, nor yet the grayne of wheat which is the vessell, wherein the materialls doe dwell, but it is the incorruptible spirit within and without that causeth multiplication in abundance. Paule planteth and Apollo watreth but it is God that giveth the increase.

To the fift. Our replys going before make a full and sufficient answeare: for as naturs workmanship allways doth tend unto perfection, so the action of the incorruptible spirit doth always move forward to incorruption & immortality if it be not hindred by impurity of the spirituall vessell in which it dwelleth, for it will not pass the limits of naturall effects in gross elementary composition because it is not worthy to receave the progress of his operation unto the period which is unity. This is well seen in the grayne of wheat, which though it multiply by a litle refininge of his materiall composition by the way of putrefaction, yet it passeth not unto the period or complement of his race because his action is prevented by a new addition of elements which doe imprison and shet up againe the beame, but if the vessell or pacient be made worthy of her progression, she will move the passive nature beyound the limits of the common elementary effect. So that the work brought unto that effect, wilbe rather metaphysicall in respect of the common operation of nature then phisicall. Heare upon have the wise philosophers called their worke the divine Elixir. and some of them entitle their work opus supernaturale solis. Others Artificium supernaturale &c:

To conclude, the sixt is the very weakest of all. Wherin he seemeth to inferre that mineralls have elementary mixture, and therefore cannot multiply or propagat⁶⁰: Suppose I answer in your owne languag, the grayne of wheat cannot properly be sayed to increase or multiply, because it hath elementary

⁵⁹ Apparently the author meant to write here 'incorruptible', not 'corruptible'. He could not have attributed to a corruptible spirit 'the highest degree of spirituality'.

⁶⁰ The handwriting assumes a different style from here on. See above, p. 91. The text now in several places seems to be corrupt.

mixture, but cannot be deserned, but by effect how it groweth. But you goe farther. But want (say you) eyther vegetable seed or sensible quality : This followeth not also for every composition of elements have their multiplicative graine, theyr spark of propagation and therfore things work on and the same spirit, And to some he giveth all. But to come unto common history [*In margin*: Plin. ⁶¹]. It was it that mad the lustus souldier to continue in his youthfull age though he passed the age of common men, whom wen Augustus asked, what he did to preserve him self answered enigmatically. that he put oyle without and used an emulsion within. It was she that was in that noble liquor which a plowman [*In margin*: Bacon *de Art. et Nat.*] found in a golden vessell in the feild, with which thinking it to be the dew of heaven, washing his face, and drinking a portion therof he was forthwith so exalted in spirit, and bewty of body and so compleat in wisdom, that the king of Sicily made him a great man about him in lieu of a plowman ⁶². By it Socrates hath been reported to have beene transfigured [*In margin*: Agripp. I. 3. c. 43. ⁶³]: And so was Zoroastes sayd to have been transfigured, and raysed up on high. And infinit such lik examples.

This is the effect of that which Hermes speaketh in his Smaragdin table, sic habebis gloriam totius mundi, ideo fugiet a te omnis obscuritas. Haec est totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortior, Sic mundus creatus est.

I conclud therfore with the sentence of the truest wiseman of our age, which sayeth, Fye upon gold as it is gold, for unto whom the universall nature is manifested, he will not rejoyce that he can make gold : or (as Christ sayd) that the devills ar made obedient unto them but will be inspired with gladnes, that he seeth the heavens open and behouldeth the Angells of God descend and ascend, and shall se his name wrighten in the book of lif with illuminated and cleare eyes.

The second reason seemeth ridiculous, as who should say that because a

⁶¹ Cf. C. Plinius Secundus, *Nat. Hist.* XXII, 114 : ' Multi senectam longam multis tantum intra tolerare, neque ab alio ullo cibo, celebri Pollionis Romili exemplo. Centesimum annum excedentem eum divus Augustus hospes interrogavit, quam maxime ratione vigorem illum animi corporisque custodisset. At ille respondit: intus mulso, foris eleo.'

⁶² Cf. Roger Bacon, *De mirabili potestate artis & naturae libellus*, in *Artis Auriferae etc.*, Basle 1593, pp. 510, 511 : ' Sed postea multa contigerunt. Nam rusticus fodiens in campis, cum aratro vas aureum cum nobili liquore adinvenit, existimans rorem coeli, lavit faciem, & bibit, & spiritu & corpore, & bonitate sapientiae renovatus est, de bubulco factus est baiulus regis Siciliae, quod accidit tempore regis Osti.'

⁶³ Cf. Agrippa ab Nettesheym, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Cologne 1533, lib. III, cap. 43 De humanae animae potestate in mente, ratione & idolo : ' Sed nunc ad exemplar tam copioso lumine coelestium stellarum animae abundant, ut ingens inde in corpora sua redundet copia luminis. Sic Mosis facies splendebat adeo, ut non possent intendere filii Israel illum ob splendorem vultus eius. Sic Socrates transfiguratus legitur, solis luciferas uti vicerit lumine rotas : sic Zoroastem transfiguratum sublatumque corpore sursum : sic Enoch & Heliam igneo quodam curru coelos ascendisse : sic Paulum in tertium coelum raptum esse . . . '.

man is rich ergo vitious. He is a weak philosopher who because he wer rich should therfore turne the clocke from vertue and morallity to vice and innormity. Let us look unto king Salomon, which was the richest, and yet the wisest that breathed. Marcus Aurelius was a rich and mighty Emperour, and yet a wise philosopher and an infinit other as well of high as low condition, whos externall riches did noe way maculat the riches of their minds, by which they commanded and had in the basest esteeme of all their delights and pleasurs and therfore king Alexanders gold and advancement wer not in that esteem as the bright heat of the sonne. But the answeare unto the first may well satisfy you for a full answeare. And for a conclusion work upon this that I will now tell you, the wisest men did ever esteem poverty for a curse and extreame misery, which wisdom her self is an enemy unto, for as that is a child of darknes, so is this the bright daughter of light and perfection. And therfore doth Salomon say that wisdom houldeth in her right hand long days and prosperity of lif, and in her left hand riches wherby it is evident, first, that she enricheth as well as endueth wit other possessions, then that the riches which she bringeth ar as far inferiour to the rest of her gift, as the left hand is unto the right.

The tenth Fourrow expresseth the conclusion of his work.

The som of the Text.

He maketh therfore the conclusion of his work that the mysticall involutions of thos Tilles which may seeme to poynt at a materiall Elixir ⁶⁴ men to other and better ends imagin then Alchimists, and he deriveth his proofs.

First from the ornament of the brest plat of Aaron: the twelve precious stones wherof he will have to intimat the purity and graces wherewith pastures and people ought to be endued heare upon earth, and by Urim and Thummim in the midst to note their perfection in the kingdome of grace and glory heareafter.

Secondly from the essence of Urim and Thummim which though they signify light and perfection, yet that they wer artificially substasified ⁶⁵ substances he sayeth it is to be doubted.

Thirdly from Ezeekiels vision, which was only a similitude of the glory of the Lord.

Forthly from the fiery coles or stone mentioned in that vision: wherby is ment the effects of Gods word.

fiftly from aurum Dei mentioned in that prophesy, and else wher in scriptures, which is alluded to the incomprehensible goodnes of the creator, and the holyness, and thankfulnes required in the prima creatura.

He concluds therfore, that if any of thes poynt at a materiall Elixir or substance to be sought by art, if it be not haeresie, it is a gross errour. Lastly

⁶⁴ A lacuna.

⁶⁵ Derived from hypostasis, the theological term for the differentiations of the Trinity. The alchemists sometimes use the word for their primary substances, Salt, Sulphur and Mercury.

from the interpretation of holy scriptures which according to Issidorus and others ought to be interpreted morally, and understood spiritually, wherfore he concludeth that, whoseoever applyeth it otherwise to things that pervert nature, order and meaning of scriptures, ar but rash text wresters: and not better grownded in divinity then Rabblais or the Curat.

The Harrows encounter.

Touching the first, second, third, 4. and fit arguments wherby he would prove that the philosophers tilles, which seeme to ayme at the materiall Elixir, wer intended unto better ends then Alchmists imagin, I iump with him thus far, if he meanes the common Alchmists imagin. But because all thes arguments ar fully answeared in our Harrows work on the 4th and fift fourrow, I will let them pass in this place, and come unto the last proof which he alleageth out of Isidorus and the other fathers saying that scriptures ought to be interpreted morally but understood spiritually wherfore he concluds that whosoever interpreth them otherwise are text wresters, and not better grownded in divinity then Rabbelais.

Bona verba quæso: but first let me know if you have the skill to understand the scriptures spiritually, or wheather you have tasted of Esdras his fiery cup, so far as to open your eyes, credo quod haud. Next let us heare St. Jeromes sentence in the liberty of interpretation of scriptures who passeth a little farther, for if we should moralize and still speak new fancys or old growds⁶⁶, and seeke to imitat your moral conceypts (which ar but mear shadows, in respect of true substances, in the interpretation of scripturs, we should leave that reality, which Salomon calleth domum fidei, for an imaginary faith and beleeve, which the Turks and infideles affirme they have above all, The Jews deny any to be true possessers of it but them etc: why doe you not morallize upon the death of Christ on the cross, what was it reall or a morall, or will the morallity given us the releef of salvation or the reality, Christ wished his disciples to speak in parables, that they may have ears to heare and not to heare, and the Apostle confeseth he preached Christ in a mystery. I confess ther is in this the patterne of the mystery of our asseured salvation. Others wel seen and exercised in the exposition of the Text of scriptur telleth us that it is to be expounded eyther historically, which they mak eyther Annale, Kalendarly or Ephemera, or diary or iournall, according to times or Allegoricall which hideth that which is ment with a double face, and this is it that Paull sayeth Litera interficit, spiritus vivificat, And Christ sayth speak unto them in parables, that they may have eares to heare and not heare: Now I pray you, had not the parables of Christ the shape of morallity put upon them: with the good precepts of externall living wel? Or tropologically which is a conversion of

⁶⁶ The transcript in Ashm. MS. 1507 has "grownds," a not unlikely explanation of what seems to be a miswriting in the original.

speech, eyther Allegoricall or parabolicall, and consequently morall, unto the real and true sense, and by this the spirituall and mysticall sence of holly wright is layed open. But you say that all scripture must be interpreted morally, that is by allegoricall allusion: And yet St. Paul, 1. Cor. 12. sayeth the spirit giveth interpretation of tungs: He meaneth not the constringing them out of on languag into an other, but the opening the mystery. and therfore he sayeth in the 14th chap: Let him that speaketh with strannng tonnys pray that he may interpret. It was therfore but a folly to speak with new tongues except they ⁶⁷ literally what they said, but to speak them and spiritually to interpret them ar two things.

The eleventh Fourrow expresseth our Plowmans Scarcrow.

The some of the text.

And now our provident Tiller doth provide him self of certayne scar crows to fright and scarr away all such incombring objections as might arrise from this mayne poynt. Namly that this mysticall and yet materiall Elixir was hid by the wise philosophers from the vulgar and unworthy for the shunning of such inconvenienses as might arrise from the generall making of gold: Wherefore lest the Rumer of thes strong objections should devour his morall or rather imaginary grayne he hath provided thes evasions to blind the eyes of the ignorant. and to prove that the philosophers wer franc and open harted and no way horders up or concealers of their mysterys or secrets he produceth these 4 principall reasons.

First, such conealment of knowledge was against the Philosophers doctrine, who as they wer learners so wer the teachers, and therfore scire and nescires was their Emblem, wherefore they taught their skill that their light might not shine under a bushell, and therfore their frontispice was this scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.

Secondly, use and communication of studys begetteth wisdom.

Thirdly noe art hath been so concealed but that by tradition it hath been communicated to others.

Lastly that it was not held for a secret of the philosophers he houldeth firmly because it was revealed unto a woman which he expresseth in thes termes. If the knowledg of the Elixir did by tradition come unto Miriam the sister to Aaron (as some report) then certaynly the revealers wer much to blame for communicating such a mystery to a womans tongue which they might as safly have committed unto the wind.

Again that the knowledg hearof came to her by a divine revelation he will by noe meanes bee perswaded by any Alchemist. Pag. 18. 19.

Truths Harrow smileth and tells me that in this his last preparation, our plowman hath forget himself, for Pag. 2. he sayth that the philosophers did

⁶⁷ A lacuna.

protrait wisdom in dark hieroglyphicks, sometimes in fabulous attire, whereby they did mystically, that is occultly imply that true wisdom cometh from heaven. Yet heare he sayeth, that it was against the philosophers doctrine to conceale their knowledg, and that it was against their rules, that their candle should shine under a bushell: But I will lay downe thes axioms of certayne wise philosophers, to confute first your 3 first arguments, which would over though secrecy in a philosopher and then in a word I will handle the last.

Honor est DEI abscondere rem [*In margin*: Prov. 12.]. It is the glory of God to hide the thing, and in an other place, scientiam tegit homo callidus, the subtile man doth hid his science. And Christ doth admonish us, that we be as subtile as serpent. And he would not that perles were cast befor swine: and to that end he commanded his disciples, to speak in allegorys Mercurius Trismegistus calleth his silence the fruthefull propagation of goodnes, Plato sayeth, that thos things which are sacred in mysterys ar not to be devulged, Pythagoras and porphyry did consecrat their disciples with religious silence. Orpheus did exact an othe, with a certayne terrible authority of religion, of them which wer candidates in the ceremony of the divine mysterys to keepe silence. Least the secrets of religion should come unto prophan eares: Tertullian sayeth, the faith of silence becometh religion, and the breakers of this silence ar subiect to much dannger. Apuleius in his mysticall secrets sayeth I would declare it if it wer lawfull, you should know it if it were lawfull to be heart, as also Paul saw things which ar not to be revealed. In the great Rosary of the philosophers⁶⁵ we read that they are in danger of death, or an Apoplexy which reveal this mystery unworthily. Picus Mirand: [*In margin*: In Proem: lib. 2.] witnesseth that the custome of the anncients was in the wrighting of great things eyther physicall or divine: to doo them hiddenly and figuratively, because the rudnes of the hearers which could not endure the splendour of Moyses his doctrine, ought to have doctrine and words with a vayled face, least such as wer to be eluminated should be blinded with to much light. But now to answeare unto that his satyricall invective made against the secrecy of women, whom as the poet sayeth he maketh plenas rimarum, so full of holes, that their vessell is able to hould nothing, concluding therupon that the secret of the Alchymist wer not of so great esteeme as to be concealed, because Mary the sister of Aaron was noted for a princes in Alchimy.

I would have our Authour for an answer unto this argument, but to look about him and observe the trapps which he hath layd for him self, for heare he alleageth that it was noe secret or concealed matter because Miriah had it. And in his 2. Page he sayth that wisdom was commended unto us by mysterys, Parables, allegoryes, and analogyes; Also he confesseth that the philosophers

⁶⁵ Cf. *Rosarium Philosophorum in Artis Auriferae etc.*, Basle 1593, vol. ii, p. 219: 'In arte nostri magisterii nihil est celatum a Philosophis excepto secreto artis, quod non licet cuiquam revelare: quod si fieret, ille malediceretur, & indignationem Domini incurreret, & apoplexia moreretur.'

did portray wisdom in dark hieroglyphicks, And Salomon sayeth wisdom, entreth into holy soules, and maketh the prophets and freends to God, How then cometh it to pass, that this occult mystery should come unto a woman, for scriptures doe wittnes she was a prophet: what hath she this gift by tradition? Verily if women are so open and the mystery of prophesy so occult and mysticall I wonder, she did not blab it abroad, if she had it by divin revelation, God is wiser then man, and as Christ sayth would not cast pearles to swin, or open his mysterys unto the unworthy: what say you unto Debouras and the 9 Sibilles or wise women and the prophets of the world? could not they keep secret theyr mysterys? then had they been unworthy of such rare gifts of the spirit.

But let us come unto more familiar and particular examples. I brought unto perfection (sayeth Nicho: Flammell in his comment upon his hieroglyphick in St. Innocents churchyard in Paris) this work 3 times, by the help of my wif Perrnell, who understood the mystery as well as my self, for as much as she assisted me in all min operations, I had a great feare at the first that Perrenell could not through extreame ioy keepe counsell, and I misdownted that she would let slip some word unto her parents of the great possessions and treasures, which we enjoyed, for extream ioy taketh away the sence as well as sadness, but the goodnes of God had not heaped only on me this only benediction, but he vout saffed me a wif, chaste, sage, abundantly capable of reason, and by far more discreet and secret then the common south ⁶⁹ of women, and above all she was devoutious.

He doth ill therfore so to generalize as utterly to extirpe every particularity for men are blak as well as women.

The twelfth and last fourrow wher our plowman sheweth.

What are the seeds which our plowman soweth in the grownd he hath so laboriously tilled, and wheather the frute of light which is expected to sprought up is likly to prove authentickall for the production of a true and essential Elixir.

The some of his text. Pag: 30. 31.

He gathereth therfore out of the principall philosophers as namly out of Isindarius, The Rosarie, the Pandects of Mary, Morienus, Avicen, Haly, Calib ⁷⁰. etc: 4. principale tenants or grownds of this Elixer wherof the First is the cheef matter of it which is Mercury, is not vulgar but of the philosophers, by which they mean wisdom the child of heaven, the glory of the earth.

Second is his preparation through pownding and mixing of materials, by which is ment the beating downe and qualifying our affections in the mortar of a wise hart. the feeding it with more or less fier is the timely pressing and relaxing of our corrupt wills.

⁶⁹ This word is very clearly written in the original. But it is probably a misspelling for 'sort' or 'sorte'.

⁷⁰ Calid.

Third is the effect or finall mastery of praeparation which is fixation of the volatill, by which is ment the reduction of our unconstant running witts to the solidity of true wisdom.

Fourth is the coulours which appeare in the confection, and especially the red coulour joyned to the whit, which crownes the work, giveth us to understand that perseverance in vertue will gaine us the garland of victory over all forren encombrances : and subdue our unruly domestick affections, which unless they be overcome pounded, qualified, sublimated and fixed unto a pure syndon lik whit ar ever ready to debord, from the precinct of reason to a soule killing liberty.

The Harrows examination.

If my faith did only consist on this morall and imaginary harvest, I should still doubt, and ever tamper with the ancor of hope, but never firmly tak hould. I will give you a familiar example, which shall in all things resemble the fruts of his labour.

Sayth St. Mark in his last Chap: v. 17. Thes are the tooakens of them that beleeve. In my name they shall cast out devells, and shall speak with new tongues, and they shall tak away serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them, they shall lay their hands on the sik and they shal recover.

This should seeme to be a strannng speech, for who can doe any of thos things, much less all of them, and consequently who doth beleeve, being that thes ar the signes of beleef, we may reply and answeare that this speech may morally be interpreted thus, In my name that is by vertue of my word, they shall expell all vice from men, by teaching and infusing into them the doctrine of truth and beleef : They shall speak with new tongues, that is they shall open truth unto them which they know not, and shal give temperance and wisdom, unto their impure and defiled tonnngs, which are polluted and besmearet with blasphemy. They shall take away serpents, that is evill spirits, and wily and devillish inventions and tempters, and allourers unto mischief shall have noe place about them, And if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not harme them. That is although evell imaginations doe dive and sink into their harts, they shall not have power to have or produce their effects wher faith raynes, They shall lay their hands on the sik, that is, they shall cure such as are wonded by desparation or sik in spirit, by shewing and teaching them the pathway to healt and salvation.

This is a good morall interpretation of this text, and is the image of true faith which all true Christians thirst after, but this morall interpretation doth not exclud this reall effects of faith from their ocular demonstration, and materiall execution, for it is not unknowne unto every sensible christian that all thes effects have been acted not imaginarily or after a morall interpretation, but truly by Christ and his Apostles : for read in Matthew and the rest of the Evengelists how many possessed have been delivered and the evell spirits

cast out by the vertue of Christ not imaginarily but really, which also the Apostles also have performed, as we read in their acts, That the Apostles also spake with new tonngs, and wer understood of all the nations of esteeme upon the earth, we ar instructed by their acts, that it was not in the vipour power to abid the spirit of Paull, but mad it shrink, though it had fastned on him, as having tasted of a spiritual flesh, which was a contrepoyson unto it, neyther could the deadly poyson therof once the least force to harme him, though they of the Isle did expect when he should have fallen downe and dye. Lastly upon how many hat Christ, and his Apostles yea and many other in the name of Jesus (for which the disciples wer angry) did lay their hands upon the sick and cure them, If any ar so ignorant as to doubt let him reade the New Testament and he shall have faith.

I conclud therefore that though your morall interpretation is not to be misliked as being an image or patterne of the truth, yet nevertheless can the image no more praeiudice the existence of the trew portrature then the paynters work or example, or the shadow which representeth the reall substance which is represented. Wherupon I conclude that the materiall Elixir of the philosophers is not therfore to be excluded, because the shadow of it, which is morality is not to be reiected, noe more then wisdoms spirituall body or externall shap and temple, which is to be respected by the self same proportion, is to be esteemed for a non Ens, because wisdom which is the inward and centrall essence of all is most to be adored, esteemed, affected and respected. We have therfore much recommended unto us the type or patterne, which may be inferred by morality, which is as a body shadow, we have in more recommendations the real matter which this shadow doth represent or imitat, and we have in the most esteem and reverence of that formal being which as a bright soule doth inhabit that more to be commended materiall substance: so that the seed of your tillag hath only produced shadows and noe substances, the frut of your harvests are dark tears or darnell and noe profitable wheat, or only a shadow of goodnes and not goodnes it self. Truths harrow hath discovered it to be such who hath put all your labours to the test, wher it findeth but litle silver amongst a great deal of the dross and rubbish of errorrs: Look therfore for a reall ☿ of the philosophers, and in it search a sonne which can give light unto the darknes as wel of bodys as soules, and if it be not your fortune to find it, esteeme not your understanding to be more exalted then thes which knew that of which you appeare altogether ignorant of, or else you are disguised in a higher degree then Proteus was, and yet his chang of coulours and shapes did never appeare but before he had seen perfection, which is fix and stedfast in her hew; and therefore I must dout your perfection how so ever you prove Proteus unless I se the fruts.

Disce mori mundo vivere disce Deo ⁷¹.

⁷¹ I wish to acknowledge here my sincere gratitude to Dr. F. Sherwood Taylor for suggesting the subject of this paper and for his constant help and advice. I also wish to thank Mrs. G. M. Rising for assistance in the transcription of the manuscript.

REVIEWS.

The Chemical Arts of Old China. By LI CH'IAO-PING. Pp. viii+214.
Journal of Chemical Education, Easton, Pa. 1948. \$5.00.

ORIGINALLY written in Chinese, this work has been translated into English by the author, a fact which removes any doubt as to the correctness of the rendering of Chinese terms. The old Chinese had nothing that could be called a theory of chemistry, for the theories of *yang* and *yin*, and of the *wu-hsing*, or five elements, are to be regarded rather as philosophical than scientific. The main subject of the book is the history of the practical arts which we should today call chemical, such as the making of metals, salt, ceramics, lacquer, gunpowder, colours and dyes, oils, perfumes, sugars, paper, leather, glue, soybean products, alcoholic beverages and vinegar. Many of these arts developed considerably earlier in China than in the West and the clear descriptions preserved in the literature and quoted by the author give us a most interesting account of the pre-scientific techniques of industrial chemistry. The main criticism which should be made concerning the work is the vagueness of the term 'Old China'. Some of the processes described date from the nineteenth century, some from the twelfth or thirteenth, and we often find ourselves in doubt concerning the antiquity of what the author describes.

The readers of this journal will be especially interested to know whether Professor Li Ch'iao P'ing has added to our knowledge of Chinese Alchemy. The chapter on this subject naturally contains much that has been published by other writers, but it also contains a good deal of matter new to the Western student, including numerous interesting illustrations of alchemical apparatus and furnaces. The author is somewhat uncritical of older sources, being more a technologist than a historian; none the less, this chapter comprises an account of the subject which the historian of alchemy should not ignore. The book is beautifully produced, but its usefulness is marred by the lack of an index.

F.S.T.

Introduction to the History of Science Vol. III. By GEORGE SARTON.
Pub. for the Carnegie Institution of Washington by Williams & Wilkins.
Baltimore. Part I. First Half of the Fourteenth Century, 1947. Part II.
Second Half of the Fourteenth Century. 1948. Pp. xxxv+2155. \$20.00.

THESE impressive volumes are understood to be the conclusion of Professor Sarton's great *Introduction*. Like the preceding volumes they form an indispensable apparatus for the historian of science, and furthermore provide a number of admirable surveys of the sciences of the century they survey. The present review, however, is not directed to the appraisement of these volumes as a whole, but rather of those parts of them which have to do with alchemy and early chemistry. The fourteenth century is not very fertile of alchemical authors and at a first glance it seems that these volumes contain little on these subjects. But all the known alchemists are there, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,

and the work in fact contains a considerable survey of fourteenth-century alchemy. The chief criticism that might be made is the author's unwillingness to enter into a discussion of alchemical principles, which are not mere moonshine, but have an order and consistency, albeit concealed. Thus the fourteenth century saw the emergence of the very important chemical idea of the quintessence whose influence extended over centuries and was effective in determining the orientation of alchemy toward medicine. We may be disappointed to find little or no reference to this important notion, but it is hardly reasonable to expect the compiler of such a treatise as the *Introduction* to go beyond the published literature,—and the alchemical ideas of the middle ages, to our shame, are largely unstudied. Yet even so, the reviewer detects in Professor Sarton some antipathy to the alchemist. To those of us who are jealous for the reputation of our chemical ancestors, the statement that Chaucer regards the alchemist as a bad man seems harsh or at least irrelevant to his true character. Chaucer was a satirist telling a lively tale, not a historian of his time. Alchemical frauds were certainly a scandal at the close of the fourteenth century when the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* was written, as is shown by the Statute against the Multiplication of Metals, following a few years after ; but it would be unfair to take this amusing tale as Chaucer's considered opinion on alchemy. After all, how many good men of any profession figure in these Tales? Scarcely any, I think ; yet Chaucer did not, I believe, intend to condemn all mankind as fools and knaves. With these minor criticisms, however, the reviewer would strongly commend to every worker in the field of alchemy and early chemistry, this remarkable survey of one of the least well-studied centuries of scientific progress.

F.S.T

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